Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Poland, Hungary, CSFR To Sign Treaty With EEC *[Warsaw TV]* 1
Visegrad Triangle Ambassadors Hold Third Meeting *[PAP]* 1
Budapest Conference on European Issues Opens *[MTI]* 1

ALBANIA

EBRD President Jacques Attali Continues Visit 2
Holds Talks With Bufi *[ATA]* 2
Signs Financial Aid Package *[ATA]* 2
United Nations Approves Interpol Membership *[ATA]* 2
Bufi Answers Questions on Elections, Corruption *[ATA]* 2
Finance Ministry Statement on Price Liberalization *[ZERI I POPULLIT 3 Nov]* 3
Justice Minister Bans Bratska Macedonian Party *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Justice Minister Approves Communist Party Creation *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Radio-Television Director Refuses To Resign *[Zagreb Radio]* 4
'Terrorist Elements' Attack Military Units *[Tirana Radio]* 4

BULGARIA

Dimitrov Presents Policies to National Assembly *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Background of New Cabinet Ministers Reported *[BTA]* 6
First Cabinet Meeting Reported *[BTA]* 7
Court Issues Declaration on DPS Legitimacy Case *[BTA]* 7
Extra-Legislative Parties Create 'Center' Group *[DUMA 4 Nov]* 8
BSP Outlines, Protests Anti-Democratic Phenomena *[DUMA 5 Nov]* 8
Romanian Environment Minister Cancels Visit 9
Ministry Regrets Action *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Bilateral Ecological Convention Viewed *[DUMA 4 Nov]* 9
EC Approves Additional Financial Aid Credits *[BTA]* 10
Foreign Ministry Supports NATO Decisions *[BTA]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SNR Discusses Sovereignty Declaration 8 Nov 11
Proposal Introduced, Debated *[Prague Radio]* 11
SNR Presidium Meets *[Bratislava Radio]* 11
Slovak Parties View Declaration *[Prague Radio]* 11
CNR, SNR Leaders Hold Talks on Treaty Issues 12
Leaders' Views Reported *[CSTK]* 12
Talks End; Results Viewed *[Prague Radio]* 12
Dienstbier Questioned on Division of Federal State *[Bratislava Radio]* 12
Carnogursky Not Opposed to Referendum *[CSTK]* 13
Pithart Addresses Slovakia on State Setup *[CSTK]* 13
Carnogursky on Pithart Address *[CSTK]* 14
Havel Views Progress on Constitution Talks *[Prague Radio]* 14
National Council Presidia Meeting Begins 11 Nov 17
Havel Addresses Presidia *[Prague Radio]* 17
KDH Clarifies Position *[Prague Radio]* 19
Foreign Ministry: EC Sanctions 'Not Binding' *[Prague Radio]* 19

HUNGARY

Belgrade TV Reports Hungarian Plane Shot Down 20
Defense Ministry Denies Incident *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Spokesman Keleti Comments *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Foreign Ministry Supports SFRY Peacekeeping Force *[MTI]* 20
Jeszenszky Views Talks With Vance, SFRY Crisis *[NEPSZABADSAG 8 Nov]* 20
NATO's Woerner Discusses East European Security *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Antall, Luxembourg's Santer View Current Issues *[MTI]* 22
Antall Meets With Romanian Hungarian Party *[MTI]* 22
Diplomatic Relations Expected With Ukraine Soon *[MTI]* 22
Socialist Party's Tabajdi Recounts Moscow Talks *[MTI]* 23
Antall Views Egypt Visit, Trade With Arab States *[Budapest TV]* 23
Antall Briefs Press on Regional Government Forum *[MTI]* 23
Defense Secretary Urges Reinforcing 'Weak' Forces *[Budapest Radio]* 23
Defense Doctrine Includes Rapid Reaction Brigades *[Budapest Radio]* 24
Fur Appoints New Ground, Air Force Commanders *[MAGYAR NEMZET 5 Nov]* 24
Military Courts Incorporated Into Unified System *[MTI]* 24
Oil Trade 'Sensitive' to Yugoslav Situation *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 9 Nov]* 24
Recession Leaves Budget Deficit Above Plan *[MTI]* 25
Central Bank Chairman Views Finance Prospects *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Nov]* 25
Social Democratic Party Expels Presidium Members *[Budapest Radio]* 26

POLAND

Walesa Selects Geremek for Prime Minister Post 27
Walesa Spokesman Issues Statement *[Warsaw TV]* 27
Geremek Comments on Selection *[Warsaw TV]* 27
Kaczynski: Center Alliance Opposed *[Warsaw TV]* 27
Reaction to Geremek Selection Noted *[PAP]* 27
Geremek Meets Kaczynski *[PAP]* 28
Geremek Discusses UD Program *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 9-11 Nov]* 28
Christian Union Opposes Geremek *[PAP]* 29
Process of Forming New Government Discussed 29
Geremek Views Prospects *[Warsaw TV]* 29
Democratic Union Optimistic *[PAP]* 29
Yeltsin Message to Walesa Urges 'More Contacts' *[PAP]* 30
Deputy Defense Minister Supports NATO Ties *[PAP]* 30

ROMANIA

UN Peacekeeping Deployment in SFRY Supported *[TANJUG]* 31
Foreign Ministry Welcomes NATO Statement *[ROMPRES]* 31
Stolojan Views Social Protection Measures *[ROMPRES]* 31
Procedure to Unify Leu's Exchange Rates Reported *[ROMPRES]* 32
Roman Discusses Foreign Visits, FSN Goals *[AZI 6 Nov]* 32

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Lord Carrington Discusses Country's Future *[London TV]* 35
Mesic Calls on Italy To Support Buffer Zone Idea *[AFP]* 36
Belgrade TV Alleges Bulgaria Helping Croatia *[BTA]* 36
Air Force Shoots Down Hungarian Fighter *[Budapest Radio]* 36

Federal

Ministry Shares EC 'Concern,' Rejects Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 36
POLITIKA Assails EC Sanctions Move *[TANJUG]* 36
Belgrade Radio on EC Economic Sanctions 37

Presidency Rejects EC Economic Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 38
Presidency Briefed on Political, Security Situation *[TANJUG]* 38
Presidency Urges UN To Send Troops to Croatia *[TANJUG]* 39
Jovic Comments on Proposal *[Belgrade TV]* 40
Kostic Views General Mobilization *[TANJUG]* 41
UNSC President Supports Demand *[TANJUG]* 41
Kostic Talks About Peace Efforts to Delegation *[Belgrade TV]* 42
Slovenia, Croatia Causing Energy 'Chaos' *[TANJUG]* 42
Major General Held on 'Undermining' Suspicion *[TANJUG]* 42

Slovenia

Rupel Calls EC Sanctions 'Blow' to Federation *[TANJUG]* 42
Republic To Establish Direct Ties With EC *[TANJUG]* 43
President Kucan Hails Italian 'Recognition' *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 5 Nov]* 43
Internal Ministry Against Travel to Serbia *[Ljubljana Radio]* 44

Croatia

Greguric 'Dissatisfied' With EC Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 44
Government 'Expected More' From Rome Summit *[TANJUG]* 44
Tudjman Letter States Readiness To Continue Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
EC Spokesman Gives Details on Mission Activities *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Shelling Prevents EC Group From Leaving Dubrovnik *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Republic Notes 'Need' for Foreign Intervention *[Zagreb TV]* 46
Assembly Discusses Political, Security Situation 46
Urges Military Drive *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Approves Government's Activities *[TANJUG]* 46
Confirms Wartime Media 'Provisions' *[TANJUG]* 47
General Staff Urges EC To Heed Army 'Threat' *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
JNA Says Dubrovnik Talks Yield No Results *[TANJUG]* 47
Assembly President Demands YPA's Withdrawal *[TANJUG]* 48
YPA, Government Agree on Withdrawal of Corps *[TANJUG]* 48
Government Explains Position for Army Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
Air Force Command Denies Allegations on Gas Use *[TANJUG]* 49
Culprit in Fall of Vukovar To Be Sought in Zagreb *[Zagreb Radio]* 49
Serb Regions Request UN Trusteeship for Croatia *[TANJUG]* 49
Separovic Addresses Foreign Consuls to Zagreb *[Zagreb Radio]* 50
Ex-Defense Minister Named Chief Inspector *[TANJUG]* 50

Serbia

Government To Cooperate With Hague Conference *[TANJUG]* 50
Jovanovic Interviewed on EC Sanctions *[Belgrade TV]* 51

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Republic Demands To Be 'Exempt' From Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 52
Serbs Overwhelmingly Support United Country *[Belgrade Radio]* 52
Zagreb Radio Views Referendum Anomalies 52
Bosnian Krajina in Favor of United State *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Presidency Member Arrested for Insulting Military *[Zagreb Radio]* 53
International Red Cross Supervising POW Exchange *[Zagreb Radio]* 53
Mostar Citizens Asked To Respond to Mobilization *[Sarajevo Radio]* 53
Communal Authorities Deem Army Call-Up 'Invalid' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 53

Macedonia

Government Urges EC Aid To Stabilize Situation *[TANJUG]* 54
Republic To Demand Recognition of Independence *[TANJUG]* 54

Poland, Hungary, CSFR To Sign Treaty With EEC

LD1011214191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Nov 91

[No video available]

[Excerpts] An association treaty between Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and the EEC will be initialled on 15 November. Talks on this subject have been going on in Brussels for the last three days.

[Unidentified correspondent] There is still no final agreement concerning financial cooperation with community countries. It has been agreed that within 10 years the barriers concerning exchanges of services with the exception of banking and the turnover of land will be lifted. Matters concerning the agricultural sector have still to be agreed. And what has been arranged ?

[Unidentified official] We have already finally agreed above all on textile questions. EEC tariffs will be removed as of 1 January next year. Quotas which were significantly raised for 1992 will continue to be relaxed, in order to be removed in about five years. We probably also have final agreements on steel, and likewise these quotas are going to be completely removed this time as of 1 January 1992, and tariffs gradually within five years. [passage omitted] However, we have not yet finally agreed about agriculture.

In spite of these very bold and one should say political decisions favorable to Poland, we are still having difficulty assuring ourselves, that the agreement does not have any holes in it. We must insure that all the products which we depend on are taken into consideration, especially processed food articles—sauces, mayonnaise, biscuits, that kind of thing, so that they also have better access to the EEC market.

[Correspondent] Could a situation arise in which the agreement could not be initialled on 15 November?

[Official] It would be very bad, I don't think it would come to that, in any case, I think, it would not be due to any fault of ours, and I also don't think due to the EEC, but one can never exclude certain situations. [end recording]

Visegrad Triangle Ambassadors Hold Third Meeting

LD0911211591 Warsaw PAP in English 1824 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, November 9 (MTI)—The third meeting of Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak ambassadors was held in Warsaw on Friday and Saturday. The first conference of this unofficial forum of the Visegrad Triangle co-operation scheme took place in Budapest, and the second in Prague.

Akos Engelmayer, Hungarian ambassador to Poland, Marketa Fialkova, Czechoslovak ambassador to Poland, and Rudolf Chmel, Czechoslovak ambassador to Hungary, put MTI's correspondent in the picture about the meeting.

The discussion covered the tasks to be accomplished after the Krakow summit, and the three countries, [words indistinct] and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They agreed that legislative work should be accelerated in all three countries so as to create the best possible harmony in contacts between citizens and entrepreneurs. The co-ordination of customs regulations and tariffs could be part of this work.

The ambassadors took a stand for the development of regional, sub-regional and border-zone co-operation, including the opening of new border crossings and measures to improve border check procedures.

The idea of launching a joint satellite TV programme, setting up a joint press agency and publishing a socio-cultural periodical in three languages also came up during the conference.

Budapest Conference on European Issues Opens

LD0511231391 Budapest MTI in English 2052 GMT 5 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 5 (MTI)—New political institutions, economic and social restructuring in east-central Europe and possibilities of cooperation between the countries of the region and the EC are the issues in the focus of the "Budapest Conference" opened here today.

"In Western Europe and in east and central Europe, we all know that we are in the same boat, looking for the same haven," said Willy de Clercq, chairman of the Federation of Liberal Democratic and Reform Parties of the European Parliament, at the opening of the conference.

The conference was organized by the Federation of Liberal Democratic and Reform Parties of the European Parliament, the Friedrich Neumann Foundation, the Hungarian Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats.

EBRD President Jacques Attali Continues Visit

Holds Talks With Bufi

AU0811123291 Tirana ATA in English 0911 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 8 (ATA)—On November 7 before noon, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania, Ylli Bufi, received at the premier's seat, the president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], Jacques Attali.

During the talks conducted on this occasion Premier Ylli Bufi acquainted Attali with the difficult economic situation our country is in, laying the stress especially on the need for support by the European Community and the international financial institutions. In this support, he underlined, the role of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is of specific importance. Premier Ylli Bufi voiced the committment of the stability government to inmplement the economic reform, as the sole alternative to pull the country out of the difficult economic and social situation. He pointed out at the same time that the destiny of democracy in Albania depends on the implementation of the economic reform and the aid various economic-financial organisms should render. "This is also the message of my government addressed to you and the European Community, Premier Ylli Bufi underlined.

On his part, the president of the European Bank Jacque Attali, after thanking for the warm reception, pointed to the readiness of the insitution he heads to help Albania in this stage of transition it is undergoing. He said that the European Bank will be engaged in rendering financial aid, technical assistance, in creating various bank institutions etc.

Premier Ylli Bufi and Jacques Attali exchanged views also on the current situation in Yugoslavia and the situation in Kosovo. They assessed the extremely grave and serious situation and stressed that the international community, especially the European one, should act speedily and with efficiency for the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Responding to Jacques Attali's interest in the Albanian Government's stand towards the Albanians in Kosovo, Premier Ylli Bufi said that it is the right of this people to decide by themselves on their own destiny, as all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

Attending the reception was also the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of the economy, Gramoz Pashko.

Signs Financial Aid Package

AU0811124891 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 8 (ATA)—In one of the halls of the Council of Ministers a round table was organised between the delegations of the Bank of Europe for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], headed by its president, Jacques Attali, and our government delegation headed by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and the minister of economy, Gramoz Pashko.

In this meeting an agreement was signed foreseeing the immediate financing and assistance for some projects in Albania, such as in the bank field, in that of telecommunication, environment and tourism.

A talk was also held between the specialists for finding the best and fruitful ways to realize these projects which will have an immediate impact on the recovery of the Albanian economy.

The president of the European Bank, Jacques Attali, underscored that there cannot be fast-rate development without creating institutions guranteeing democracy and the market economy.

On November 7, the delegation of the Bank of Europe for Reconstruction and Development had separate meetings with the chairman of the Democratic Party, Dr. Sali Berisha and the chairman of the Socialist Party, Fatos Nano.

United Nations Approves Interpol Membership

AU1011145091 Tirana ATA in English 0948 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 10 (ATA)—The 60th session of General Assembly of Interpol held its proceedings in Punta del Este of Uruguay.

In the plenary sitting, held on the first day of its proceedings, there was put up the problem of Albania's admission to this organization. The assembly voted for Albania's admission to Interpol. The minister of public order, Bajram Yzeiri, spoke at this conference. He presented an overview of the political situation in Albania and the immediate needs laid to it in the process of the application of economic reform in Albania.

During this session the minister of public order met with the secretary general of Interpol, leaders and representatives of the delegations of Germany, France, Israel, Romania, Greece, Italy, the U.S.A., etc. They discussed in these meetings on the intensification of bilateral relations in preventing criminality, exchange of experience and the institutionalization and establishment of bilateral and multilateral relations.

Bufi Answers Questions on Elections, Corruption

AU1011144891 Tirana ATA in English 1859 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—A press conference with Premier Ylli Bufi was organised in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses on November 9 before noon. Present were also representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in our country.

At first Premier Ylli Bufi spoke on the main problems of the situation at home. At present Albania is facing many problems, he said. It has economic and social difficulties as unemployment, inflation, strikes and an increase of criminality. This is a difficult time, but I am sure that, provided we work together, we will overcome the present difficulties and together will be proud of the achievements.

I maintain that the democratization process is the only alternative for Albania. We should understand that democracy is not an anarchy, there is no freedom without responsibility and the desired results come only through work.

Actually we have approved a series of important laws as that of sanctioning and defending the private property and the free initiative, the law on the land, social assistance, etc., which open the way for possibilities so far unknown to Albania.

Our appeals for humanitarian aid have found support, he said. A considerable food aid is being given by the Italian Government. We evaluate this aid, which together with the other aids will help us cope with this winter. Likewise, a considerable number of non-governmental agencies are working here to distribute the food items and medicaments to the people who are most in need. On behalf of the government, I may assure you that we are grateful for this aid we are receiving at these difficult times.

There are many debates regarding the new elections and there are many people who want to approach them, Premier Bufi said. My wish is not to be divided, but together save Albania. As I know there is an agreement of all the political parties for the Stability Government to have a one-year mandate. The mandate of the Stability Government may expire only due to an agreement of all the political parties.

At the end he responded to the questions of the journalists on various problems. To the question regarding the government's opinion on the approach of the elections, Ylli Bufi responded that the opinion of all the government members, hence of all ministers representing the country's various political parties is that the elections should not be approached due to the extremely difficult situation the country is in. The only alternative, he said, is to start as soon as possible the implementation at faster rates of the economic reform, whereas the approachment of the elections would hinder the realisation of this reform.

Responding to the question what measures has the government taken to cope with these moments and strikes that might be staged by various trade unions, [word indistinct] (?actually) there is not any strike going on in any enterprise or district and this shows that the contacts we have had with the trade unions have been fruitful and the demands put forward will be solved gradually. To the question about the rumours regarding the sale in Greece of aids, about which some newspaper has written about, the premier responded that based on the control made, particularly in the district of Vlore, which the rumours refer to, it follows that these news are baseless, hence they are not true.

To the question whether he as premier knows of the corruption among leading officials engaged in reaching contracts with foreign firms, he said that there exist no facts about this and explained that in the conditions we are undergoing every cadre of these organs or in any institution or another enterprise might deal with business activity, but always without violating the interests of the state and within the laws in force. Premier Ylli Bufi responded also to some questions regarding the rate of inflation, saying that it is difficult to provide for the moment accurate figures. He responded to questions on the better support of the forces of order by the political parties too, etc.

Finance Ministry Statement on Price Liberalization

AU1111181191 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Nov 91 p 1

[Finance Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 1 November]

[Text] As part of the application of the economic reform and in order to increase the independence of all enterprises, with the approval of the Council of Ministers, the retail prices of some articles, products, and services will be liberalized on 1 November 1991. The retail prices of goods and services for the people detailed below are not liberalized:

I. Foodstuffs

1. Standard loaves
2. Sugar
3. Vegetable oil
4. Rice
5. Meat (beef, lamb, pork, chicken)
6. Milk
7. Butter
8. White cheese
9. Standard wheat flour
10. Standard macaroni
11. Drinking water
12. Table salt

II. Non-Food Articles and Services

1. Firewood
2. Coal
3. Electricity
4. Medicines (retail sales)
5. Housing rents
6. Textbooks and notebooks for elementary schools
7. Kerosene
8. Gasoline
9. Diesel fuel

10. Chemical fertilizers (ammonia nitrate, urea, superphosphates)
11. Washing powder
12. Central heating for apartments (steam, gas, and boiler heating)
13. Passenger fares for city and long distance road and rail transportation, including workers' season tickets
14. Postage and telegraph rates

Retail prices for the aforementioned goods and services will remain at present levels. The state will also guarantee the present level of consumption of essential foodstuffs.

The above goods and services account for 70-80 percent of family budgets for daily essential needs.

The products and services of other sectors of heavy industry, the construction and transportation sectors, etc. will circulate among different branches of the economy at liberalized and to some extent increased but controlled prices. According to instructions received by every ministry, recalculations starting on 1 November will reflect the changed prices of goods already in stock and those in the course of production.

Justice Minister Bans Bratska Macedonian Party

AU1011171891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text) On 9 November, the justice minister annulled Order No. 62 of 3 September approving the creation of the Bratska Political Association, declared it an illegal organization, banned its further activity, and removed it from the relevant register, having observed that its documents presented by its initiating commission have been falsified.

He ordered the material passed to the investigator for the criminal prosecution of the initiating commission members for the crime of falsifying documents, on the basis of Article 121 of the Criminal Code. The justice minister also ordered that, in all other cases, signed applications for the creation of parties, organizations, and associations must be witnessed by a notary on the basis of Article 221, paragraph 2 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

Justice Minister Approves Communist Party Creation

AU1111172591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] On 9 November, the justice minister approved the application of the initiating commission for the creation of the Albanian Communist Party [Partia Komuniste Shqiptare], having observed that the party's program, statute, and other documents are in accordance with the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions and the Law on Political Parties. The instruction authorizing the creation of the Albanian Communist Party was conveyed to the initiating commission and comes into effect immediately.

Radio-Television Director Refuses To Resign

AU1111141491 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2045 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] At a meeting of the Managing Council of Albanian Radio-Television in Tirana, Radio-Television Director Fatmir Kumbaro, in spite of an appeal for his resignation for the sake of stability and peace in Albania from the distinguished intellectual and human rights activist Kujtim Cashku, announced: I will leave Radio-Television only when Ramiz Alia goes.

'Terrorist Elements' Attack Military Units

AU1111202391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Defense Ministry statement issued in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] There have recently been several cases of assaults by unidentified persons against military units and sentry guards. Some of these persons have been identified, caught, and handed over to the organs of justice. However, they have in some cases escaped after suddenly attacking military units with stones and firearms. One such attack led to the death of a sentry on guard.

Acts of this and a similar kind against the Army and its servicemen are committed by anarchist and terrorist elements and threaten the lives of military personnel. They aim to provoke and destroy relations between the Army and the people and to sap the Army's morale, political awareness, and military capability.

Our Army belongs to the people and is the defender of freedom, independence, and our sacred national ideals. Any act against it is an anti-national act that aims to weaken the Army in a difficult situation both domestically and in the Balkans. The Defense Ministry expresses the conviction that healthy democratic public opinion has the strength and ability to powerfully oppose these elements, enabling the Army to concentrate more firmly on its training duties and its military alertness.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the state's laws and regulations, the Army has reinforced its guards, and will unhesitatingly perform its duty to defend its units, storehouses, and personnel.

Dimitrov Presents Policies to National Assembly

AU0811124591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0929 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Esteemed National Assembly Deputies: I do not intend to submit a detailed program of the present government to you, as I could have done. There is hardly any need for this, considering that this government—namely the cabinet list that you have just heard—though composed of people belonging to various political parties and organizations, is actually a government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and will implement the Union's program.

On this occasion, I would like to explain some of the chief elements of this cabinet's policy, namely the following:

I will, first of all, provide you with some biographical data on each candidate. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to share with you some of the basic trends in the activities of the future government as we plan them today. I would like to stress that there are representatives of the SDS among the cabinet, but there are also people who do not belong to any party or organization. We have selected people who represent the basic character and direction of government policy and who are professionals free to make decisions on problems in their spheres of work. Under whatever circumstances, I hope that they will confirm that they are qualified.

This government will implement the announced program of the SDS and is well known to everyone who was interested in learning about it. The program is aimed at a comprehensive change in the system. It is a nationwide program that is not designed to implement the goals of an individual social group but is aimed at promoting the social processes that provide opportunities for individual initiative and opportunities for a responsible solution of social problems. [passage indistinct]

The basic requirement for the success of our program is the guarantee of social and civic peace. It is necessary to eliminate tensions in the social and (?ethnic) sphere. We are resolved to act to alleviate social and national insecurity using all available means and all professional institutions in this sector. This should also include Bulgaria's cooperation with such bodies in other countries and on a European-wide scale and the final pursuit of the process of liberating society from [word indistinct]. This is the only way to be successful in the struggle against crime.

The (?personnel and administrative changes) will be determined by these requirements, but not by party preferences.

(?The problems of the military personnel) should be resolved to preserve and consolidate the prestige of the Army. The work related to the solution of their social problems will require great efforts on a nationwide scale.

We also intend to find a way out of the urgent ecological problems, though we are aware of the difficulties and hardships their solution will entail.

We are living through one of the most difficult periods of the post-World War II era. It is a period of economic ruin, of unemployment, and acute inflation. We have lost our traditional markets in the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, and the Middle East.

We have very optimistic expectations for prompt and effective success and for improving people's living standards—basing our expectations on certain successes of the recent past—but the shortage of consumer goods on the market has not yet been overcome. The functioning of the foreign currency market is disturbed by certain [word indistinct] and speculations

The country's economy is far from stable. Difficulties exist in the field of power supply, in the deliveries of fuel, in trade and finance.

[passage indistinct on country's foreign debt]

The threat of unemployment and current unemployment are [rest of sentence indistinct]. For the time being, we are obliged to strive for better quality of labor, for more effective production. Under such circumstances, we declare that the stabilization of the economy and the struggle against inflation are the basic goals of our economic policy, designed to achieve an improvement in financial discipline, the restriction and [word indistinct] our effective expenditures, a stable budget, and a sensible financial policy. Only in this way will we be able to offer full stores, our own goods, and numerous, varied and sought after services.

The second important goal of our economic policy is to halt the drop in production and achieve control over the extension of the budget. Restructuring of production should take place in some of the enterprises, and the liquidation of the other industrial plants that do not produce satisfactory production should be envisaged. We will struggle with the drop in production, but we will try to increase the incomes of those industrial enterprises that are producing high quality goods.

Trade with the traditional markets of the country in Eastern and Central European countries, in Russia, Moldova, the Ukraine, in the Middle East and North Africa should be promoted. However we should also try to enter West European markets and those of other highly developed industrial states. [passage indistinct on economic policy].

The government will submit to the legislature the draft law on privatization and also the amendments to legislation regarding the possibility of accelerating the restoration of private ownership of the land, and also a draft

law on establishing a reliable system of social and medical insurance. [passage indistinct on social security measures and privatization].

The government's foreign policy will be aimed at building good-neighborly relations with the Balkan states, on the basis of guaranteeing the sovereignty and the rights of the population for self-determination, and without any territorial claims whatsoever toward other states.

[passage indistinct on foreign policy].

In addition to this, we will develop friendly and mutually advantageous relations with other states, the countries belonging to the former communist bloc included, which means with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and with all the other states, and also with the Soviet Union and the republics participating in it.

Today we realize that we cannot promise total happiness to anyone, and we cannot promise a speedy solution to the tremendous problems facing our state.

Hard winter months filled with discontent and expectations for prompt solutions are awaiting us, as I already mentioned, and the real problems are numerous.

We expect the confidence of the Bulgarian National Assembly and of the Bulgarian people because we are ready to work toward the solution of these problems. We do not promise magic solutions, but we promise efforts and difficulties. However we accept the responsibility for doing everything within our power to overcome them.

Thank you.

Background of New Cabinet Ministers Reported

AU08i1212691 Sofia BTA in English 2034 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—For the first time in almost 45 years there is not a single representative of the Bulgarian Communist (now Socialist) Party in Bulgaria's new government which was presented to and approved by parliament today. The cabinet was formed by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and was approved after almost six hours of debates.

First UDF leader Filip Dimitrov (36) was elected prime minister by secret ballot.

Parliament voted for the structural changes the new prime minister moved for and for the membership of the cabinet. During the debates the parliamentary socialist faction declared it would not support the cabinet as a whole.

Most of the new ministers are not affiliated to any political party.

"This is a cabinet formed by the UDF and it will carry out its platform," Mr. Filip Dimitrov said on presenting the cabinet. He said that the long-term goal of the government would be the replacement of the system, the short-term goal would be the stabilization of the country's economy and the curbing of inflation. In his short policy speech made after the new cabinet was presented Mr. Dimitrov listed the priorities: Amending the Foreign Investment Act passed by the previous parliament, privatization, the reform in banking, the tax reform, amending the Land Act.

The basic principle the UDF adheres to in foreign policy is an "European-style solution to the Balkan problems," as Mr. Dimitrov put it. He declared himself to be maintaining good neighbourly relations with the Balkan countries and pointed out that Bulgaria has no territorial claims on them.

Socialist Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, prime minister in the shadow cabinet of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, stated that the Socialists' faction would not vote for the present cabinet as a whole. The socialist opposition made objections against the discontinuation of the debates over the cabinet nominees and accused the UDF of not presenting a detailed government programme. The Socialists demanded that every cabinet candidate be put to the vote separately, as it was the case with the previous coalition cabinet. The BSP also insisted on a monthly parliamentary control over the cabinet's activity.

Eight of the 14 members of the new cabinet and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov himself are MP's [members of parliament].

There are structural changes in the new Bulgarian cabinet. The most important of them is the closing down of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Its functions will be transformed and taken over by other institutions, Mr. Dimitrov explained. The UDF moved for this change on forming the previous coalition cabinet last year. The motion was violently opposed by the BSP in the course of the debates.

Mr. Ivan Kostov and Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, the former being minister of finance, the latter minister of industry and trade in the previous cabinet, preserve their posts. They will be again in charge of the implementation of the economic reform.

The Ministry of Defence will be headed by a civilian—Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, former deputy prime minister. This will be the first civilian Bulgarian minister of defence since September 9, 1944. The Socialist faction contested his candidature.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev (36), a lawyer and expert in constitutional law, will head the Foreign Ministry. Professor Nikolay Vasilev (a philosopher), leader of the Alternative Social Liberal Party, is the new minister of education and science. Hitherto there were two ministries: of education and of science.

The foreign minister, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, and the minister of education and science, Professor Nikolay Vasilev, were elected deputy prime ministers as well.

The Ministry of the Interior will be headed by Mr. Yordan Sokolov (58), a Sofia laywer. Mr. Yordan Sokolov is not affiliated to any party.

The new minister of justice is Svetoslav Luchnikov (69), a lawyer. He is the author of numerous publications on the legal system and co-author of the Commercial Code passed by the Grand National Assembly.

Ms. Elka Konstantinova, professor of literature, is the new minister of culture. She is leader of the Radical Democratic Party and the author of twenty books and treatises.

Professor Nikola Vasilev (49), a physician, is the new minister of healthcare. He was deputy minister of healthcare in the previous cabinet. He is not affiliated to any political party.

Mr. Valentin Vasilev (39) will head the Ministry of the Environment. He has been working on environmental problems for sixteen years.

The Ministry of Transport will be headed by a professional, Mr. Aleksandur Alexandrov (39) of the Social Democratic Party, until recently deputy mayor of Sofia.

Mr. Stanislav Dimitrov (65), a lawyer and a member of the Democratic Party, is the new minister of agriculture. His candidature was contested by the Socialists with the motivation that being a lawyer, he is not an expert in agricultural problems.

Economist Mikhail Danov (54) will head the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. He is the author of scientific publications on labour resources problems.

Architect Nikola Karadimov (49) will head the newly founded Ministry of Regional Development, Housing Policy and Construction which will take over the functions of the Ministry of Construction, architecture and public works.

First Cabinet Meeting Reported

AU1111152091 Sofia BTA in English 1443 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)—Prime Minister Elect Filip Dimitrov wished the government more contacts with parliament and more information after the new Council of Ministers held its first meeting today.

At the beginning, the outgoing and the incoming cabinet met in what Mr. Dimitrov described as an attempt at an informal exchange of views. Then the new Council of Ministers proceeded with discussions on the mechanism of its operation. Its first decree revises the status of the deputy prime ministers and rules that the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers shall take over the functions and powers of the Prime Minister in his absence only and if he is unable to perform his functions for a long time.

Mr. Dimitrov went on to say that the cabinet intends to keep in some form the Tripartite Commission on the harmonization of interests between the government, the trade unions and the employers but this matter was not considered.

Former Prime Minister Dimitur Popov suggested, and the cabinet members agreed, that government ministers set up a club at some luxury restaurant in Sofia where former and incumbent ministers could meet and exchange views.

Court Issues Declaration on DPS Legitimacy Case

AU0811193691 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—According to the prime minister designate, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, who presented the new cabinet to the National Assembly today, the programme of the new government is a national, long-term and pragmatic one. The new cabinet nominees are prominent politicians and professionals not affiliated to any party who will implement the election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces, Mr. Dimitrov said.

The decision on the legitimacy of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) [DPS in Bulgarian] is not a single act and the Constitutional Court cannot be expected to issue its ruling within few days, it is pointed out in the statement of the Constitutional Court received at BTA. The statement explains in detail the related legal procedure which consists of two phases. First the claims and the positions of the parties concerned are to be studied and brought into line with certain requirements, thus creating the conditions for proceeding with the case, the Constitutional Court stated.

Those who have filed applications to attend optional Turkish language classes can start their course of study on Monday, November 11. By sending this instruction to the competent local authorities, the Ministry of Education is trying to help settle the problem with the continuing ethnic Turks' boycott of classes declared in the regions with mixed population.

If carried out, the monetary reform in the USSR could hit Bulgarian state-owned companies very badly, Mr. Valeri Tsekov, ex-deputy minister of industry, trade and services, said. He made this statement in Plovdiv where Bulgarian companies are contracting for the autumn-winter period. He appealed for more activeness on the part of the state-owned companies which actually "do not behave as true market agents."

According to recent measurements made by the competent authorities, in the town of Silistra the concentration of sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere is twice higher than the standard one. Experts say that the air pollution in that Danubian town is due both to the transborder emissions of the Romanian town of Calarasi and to the increased use of solid fuel in the town itself during the winter season.

Twenty-three Bulgarians were arrested in Prague on charges of stealing cars and can be given prison sentences of up to 15 years, said a Czechoslovak policeman who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Czechoslovak police in combating the "automobile mafia." The Bulgarian thieves were stealing cars from foreigners passing through Czechoslovakia (Fiat-Tipo, Fiat-Uno, Lancia, etc.) and were selling them abroad, Detective Stanislav Kothan from Czechoslovakia explained.

Extra-Legislative Parties Create 'Center' Group

AU0811205191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Nov 91 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Bulgarian Democratic Center Was Already Established"]

[Text] We have established a Bulgarian Democratic Center, Stefiyan Stoychev, the youngest, 25-year-old ex-deputy of the Grand National Assembly, announced on behalf of the leaders of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Ecoglasnost Political Club, the Green Party, the Alternative Socialist Organization-Independent Democratic Party (Plovdiv), and the Democratic Party-Conservative Pact, at a news conference in Sofia held in Sofia yesterday. He added that the "Liberals" Party will join the Bulgarian Democratic Center after its conference in Kazunluk, where it was established as a successor of the former Federation of Democracy Clubs. Individual political figures are invited to join.

We do not intend to disrupt the work of the legislature and the government, but we will act as their public controller and opponent whenever they fail to conform with the ideas and the will of our voters, the declaration points out.

Only the slogans of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are of a right-wing nature. Respect for the prestige of state institutions, for law and order, and the will of consolidating these institutions, however, are missing from the political actions of the SDS, the program declaration of the Bulgarian Democratic Center further reads. According to the declaration, the monetary model of economic reform has exhausted its possibilities and is likely to obstruct the further implementation of reform.

The declaration also points out that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], instead of seriously striving for the practical implementation of its programmatic goals, creates prerequisites for a social and cultural self-isolation of the Turkish ethnic community. The founders of the Bulgarian Democratic Center think that, in the absence of a political center, the role of balancing force in the polarized red and blue legislature that should be played by the DPS is likely to represent a threat both for the Bulgarian population and for the Turkish ethnic group.

BSP Outlines, Protests Anti-Democratic Phenomena

AU1111182491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Nov 91 p 1

["Declaration of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy: We Encounter Phenomena That Destroy Democracy" read on 4 November at the National Assembly in Sofia]

[Text] After the painful but also instructive road of the Grand National Assembly, this Assembly had all the prerequisites for avoiding the mistakes of the previous one. It could have and was required to save the time that was lost in confrontation and apply itself to construction through a constant search for accord, Nora Ananieva pointed out in a declaration of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy read on 4 November at the National Assembly.

We entered this National Assembly with an impressive group of people's representatives organized in the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy, and we intended to do this.

However, the confrontation method was used with us from the very first moment of our new legislature's existence. Our desire and practical efforts were directed at reaching a preliminary agreement on the first session and the National Assembly leadership, so that the Assembly could concentrate on its real work. Unfortunately, it was not to be. Instead of prudence and honest willingness to march together, regardless of the essential differences in our ideological platforms, we encountered phenomena that even the most vivid fantasy cannot describe as democratic.

A National Assembly leadership that does not take the following into account was presented to us:

—The banal fact that all the political forces represented in the legislature are actually minorities;

—Having several seats more in the legislature cannot serve as a basis for arguing for two and a half times more representation;

—The substantial majority in the last legislature had only one representative in its leadership;

—The proposed leadership of the National Assembly was not only formed on an unequal basis, but it even includes a representative of a parliamentary faction of doubtful legitimacy and constitutional character;

—The blue deputies made some statements about new gallows, unfortunately related to Bulgaria's fascist past;

—Statements related to banning, confiscating, and retribution were made by deputies, some of whom were communist propagandists until yesterday;

—Legislators, members of the former Grand National Assembly, now do penance in sackcloth and ashes for the purpose of obliterating everything that was done by the Grand National Assembly, despite the fact that all laws enacted by that Assembly were adopted by a special majority, including their own votes.

Therefore, it is not too early to sound the alarm about the fate of the young Bulgarian democracy. Precisely today, at this very moment, in front of our entire public and foreign guests, we, the deputies from the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy want to warn about the visible danger of a new, this time blue, totalitarianism. We are too close to the former totalitarian legislature, which we negated in an irreversible manner. Therefore, we cannot allow ourselves to become accomplices in its restoration.

It is not too late to stop the movement in that direction! Therefore, we propose:

—To conduct consultations on finding a democratic and proportional formula on the National Assembly leadership. This must be a formula that will protect us from totalitarian relapses and save the National Assembly from assuming the role of uncritical acclaimer and a forum for greeting with applause every action or inaction of the government, a role painfully familiar from the Assembly's past.

The voters, who made their choice with hope on 13 October, did not want such a legislature.

The Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy withdraws its candidates for posts in the Assembly leadership and will not participate in the voting. Simultaneously, I propose to transfer the seat of the dark blue legislature to Rakovski Street 134 [the headquarters of the Union of Democratic Forces], in order to more efficiently coordinate party and state power. The road toward the new totalitarianism has been opened!

Romanian Environment Minister Cancels Visit

Ministry Regrets Action

AU0811180391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] We have just received the following announcement from the Ministry of Environment Protection:

The Ministry of Environment Protection expresses regret that the visit of the esteemed environment minister of Romania, which was scheduled to take place on 8 November 1991, has been cancelled. A convention on settling the questions of cooperation between the two countries for the purpose of preventing the pollution of the environment and on economic and scientific-technical cooperation in this sphere was expected to be signed on this occasion.

The ministry expresses its hope that the joint efforts for settling the problems related to environmental protection on a bilateral and regional basis will be further pursued.

Bilateral Ecological Convention Viewed

AU0811164391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Nov 91 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Deputy Environment Minister Valentin Bosevski by Tanya Kirkova and Lyubomir Rozenshtayn; place and date not given: "We Need An Ecological Policy, Rather Than a Politicized Ecology"]

[Excerpt] [DUMA] Mr. Bosevski, in the first place let us ask you what has happened to the Bulgarian-Romanian ecological convention that was supposed to be signed at the end of October 1991? The citizens of Ruse relied on it with all their hopes, after so many talks and so many promises that the two sides would finally assume a legal commitment on jointly settling their ecological problems....

[Bosevski] The resignation of Mr. Roman's cabinet and the establishment of a new government in Romania somewhat confused us because we had already agreed on signing the convention. Now the Romanian environment minister, Mr. Pop, has been replaced by Professor Marcian Bleahu. We sent a letter to him and were pleased by his prompt reaction. He answered that he would arrive in Sofia to sign the convention, and we also fixed the date—8 November 1991.

[DUMA] Nevertheless, an eco-rock protest festival has been scheduled to take place in Ruse on the evening before, namely on 7 November 1991....

[Bosevski] The Romanian side has already expressed concern about this event. We are also disturbed by the coincidence of the dates, but I hope that people in Romania will understand that the festival has nothing in common with Mr. Bleahu's forthcoming visit. Naturally, the public is perfectly entitled to react spontaneously within the limits of the law, although I am not convinced that such actions are likely to contribute to an alleviation of the sociopsychological stress.

[DUMA] What is the source of the stress?

[Bosevski] The Ruse-Giurgiu problem is a peculiar ecological phenomenon in our political life. The fact that the solution of the problem was postponed for such a long time is the main cause of the Ruse population's tragedy, which sometimes even distorts a realistic assessment of the situation in the area. This is natural, and we cannot blame the population for its sometimes exaggerated reactions. However, I would prefer that the Ruse-Giurgiu problem did not become a symbol of ecological chauvinism.

In this respect, I would oppose the policy of ultimatums. The policy of ultimatums is doomed in the ecological sphere. We are talking about two sovereign states and

about large industrial cities. We cannot demand that the problems be resolved in a formal manner by imposing ultimatums. We must search for mechanisms that can achieve a coordination of interests on an equal basis. [passage omitted].

EC Approves Additional Financial Aid Credits

AU1111175491 Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Paul Montgomery report: "EC Grants Credit to Bulgaria"]

[Text] Brussels, November 11 (BTA)—The finance ministers of the European Community made an additional 200 million U.S. dollars available today to Bulgaria for 1991 for supplemental aid credits.

At the beginning of the year the European Community had pledged to provide half of the 800 million dollars committed to Bulgaria in 1991 for supplemental aid. Under this program 200 million was provided to Bulgaria, matching 200 million provided by non-EC members. The EC could not give the rest of its 400 million dollars commitment because non-EC members were not providing matching funds.

Today the finance ministers decided to go along with the other 200 million dollars committed by the EC even if other countries did not provide matching funds. Henning Christophersen, the European commissioner in charge of finance for Eastern Europe, said today that the United States had been particularly slow in providing money. He said the United States had originally promised 25 million dollars but two weeks ago cut that promise to 10 million dollars, saying that there was no more money left in the budget. Christophersen said Japan had committed 100 million dollars to Bulgaria through the International Monetary Fund.

The IMF must approve an application from Bulgaria for the additional funds before the money is actually sent. There seemed to be no doubt that the additional money would be approved.

Christophersen said that next year the EC would make its main priorities Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and the three Baltic states. He said the three original targets of European aid—Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia—should be able to get credits on their own in 1992 from the IMF, the World Bank and private lenders.

Foreign Ministry Supports NATO Decisions

AU1011155791 Sofia BTA in English 1525 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—Bulgaria welcomes the results of the summit of NATO member-states in Rome November 7-8, the Declaration for Peace and Cooperation which was adopted there and the stand on the events in the USSR and Yugoslavia, says a declaration of Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Rome declaration is a considerable contribution to the consolidation of the new European peaceful order. It marks an important phase in the consolidation of NATO's role as a guarantor of security, stability and reforms in new Europe. Bulgaria appreciates and supports that role.

Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomes NATO's firm intention to help the further consolidation of CSCE institutions and structures in the spirit of the Paris Charter for a New Europe. Bulgaria will take an active part in the development of the CSCE as a forum for consultations and efficient cooperation in security and disarmament, in prevention of conflicts and their peaceful settlement, in the defence of human rights and democratic institutions.

Bulgaria accepts all proposals for the establishment of regular political consultations and cooperation in the sphere of security between NATO and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the USSR as they are put in the Rome declaration. Those initiatives are a new step in the partnership between NATO and the young democracies in the eastern part of the continent. Moreover, Bulgaria is ready to attend the meeting of the foreign ministers of 25 states in Brussels in December at which a political declaration is to be adopted and the forms of future cooperation are to be determined.

The declaration points out that the regular meetings of the Foreign Ministers and the ambassadors of the new East European democracies with the North Atlantic Council [NAC] would allow the consideration of the problems of Eastern Europe at an early stage of taking important decisions. The possibility to hold extraordinary meetings of ministers and ambassadors with the NAC when circumstances demand it is of extreme importance.

Bulgaria gladly accepts the invitation for regular meetings of its representatives with the political, the economic and the military committee as well as with other political and military institutions with NATO. Bulgaria is ready to expand consultations and cooperation with NATO in the spheres of military planning, military-civilian relations in the democratic society, transparency in defence and foreign policy, coordination between military and civil control over air space, and conversion of military industry.

In conclusion, the declaration of Bulgaria's Foreign Ministry expresses the conviction that the forthcoming visit of President Zhelyu Zhelev to NATO will be an opportunity to "present and discuss our views on the future development of the relations between Bulgaria and NATO in the light of the decisions of the Rome summit."

SNR Discusses Sovereignty Declaration 8 Nov

Proposal Introduced, Debated

LD0811184391 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1430 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] A proposal to issue a Slovak sovereignty declaration was introduced in the Slovak National Council [SNR] today. Our special Bratislava correspondent, Alexander Pycha, reports on the new dramatic situation:

[Pycha] The proposal to issue a declaration on the sovereignty of Slovakia came unexpectedly during the discussion of information pertaining to drafting the Slovak constitution. According to the statement of SNR Deputy Speaker Ivan Carnogursky, the Slovak constitution should be a complete constitution of Slovakia—that is, of a state with all its attributes.

After a number of controversial reactions, Anton Hykisch from the Christian Democratic Movement came forward with a proposal on the declaration. He supported it with a quote from President Havel about the need for unambiguous, lucid words. The declaration about the sovereignty of Slovakia should not be a constitutional law or an act of parting, revenge, or chaos. In his words, the Slovak nation needs to hear that it is a sovereign subject, [word indistinct] and has a right to this.

SNR Speaker Frantisek Miklosko then met with the deputy clubs to discuss the situation. A section of ten party clubs favored interrupting the session, and then the plenum endorsed this decision by voting. The SNR Presidium convened as well. SNR Speaker Frantisek Miklosko, when asked at the door by Czechoslovak radio, did not say that he himself would not support sovereignty. He only said that he would like to fulfil the role of coordinator.

Deputy Speaker Ivan Carnogursky said prior to his departure for Prague, that if no agreement is reached with the Czech side, the constitution of the Slovak Republic must be adopted speedily.

Slovak representatives are now on board the plane flying to Prague. The Slovak National Council is to discuss the declaration on Slovak sovereignty after the meeting of the presidia of National Councils on Wednesday.

SNR Presidium Meets

LD0811232991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, the deputies of the Slovak National Council [SNR] adjourned the deliberations of its 18th session shortly before 1300. Shortly afterward, the Council Presidium met, and after one hour of deliberation, SNR Deputy Chairman Ivan Carnogursky briefed journalists about this session—among whom was also our colleague, Ludmila Bulakova:

[Begin recording] [Carnogursky] We discussed a draft state treaty that we had prepared in Papiernicky—to adopt its unified form by the SNR Presidium. This was also the wish put forward by the Czech side, as the original proposal included several alternatives. Now we have taken our positions on the alternatives. The fundamental difference of the alternatives is in understanding the treaty either as a treaty founding our common state, or as a treaty founding a union of states [soustatie]. An overhelming majority of the Presidium members agreed on supporting the treaty founding our common state.

[Unidentified correspondent] Yesterday, SNR Chairman Miklosko said that it would be unacceptable for the Slovak side if the Federal Government attempts in some fundamental way to influence the content of the treaty.

[Carnogursky] The SNR session reached the same kind of conclusion—we indeed consider it totally unacceptable to cast doubts on the fundamental sovereignty and position of the republic and on the efforts of the two republics to form a common state. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] What would follow if no agreement is reached in the Prague talks?

[Carnogursky] Then the process of approving the constitution of the Slovak Republic must take place quickly. The constitution is prepared. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovak Parties View Declaration

LD0811193791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Clubs of Slovak National Council deputies of the Christian Democratic Union-VPN [Public Against Violence], the Hungarian Independent Initiative, and the Democratic Party have given a statement to CSTK today in which they say that the debate on the adoption of the declaration on the sovereignty of Slovakia in the plenum of the Slovak legislature would complicate considerably the forthcoming talks between the presidia of both National Councils. They also point out that such a step could also frustrate an agreement on the state budget for the coming year. All these clubs of deputies are, therefore, resolutely opposed to the adoption of any form of a declaration on sovereignty. On the contrary, Jozef Prokes, chairman of the Slovak National Party, has said that the draft of the political declaration on the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic that the clubs of deputies discussed in the Slovak legislature was signed by all deputies representing his party, the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, as well as by a section of deputies representing the Christian Democratic Movement, the Party of the Democratic Left, and the Green Party. Should even such a formulated declaration fail to be adopted, Slovakia would remain only a semi-colonial part of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, declared Jozef Prokes, chairman of the Slovak National Party.

CNR, SNR Leaders Hold Talks on Treaty Issues

Leaders' Views Reported

LD0811220291 Prague CSTK in English 1956 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 8 (CSTK)—The chairman of the Slovak National Council [SNR] (parliament), Frantisek Miklosko, and the deputy chairman, Ivan Carnogursky, arrived in Prague later today for talks with the chairwoman of the Czech parliament [Czech National Council—CNR], Dagmar Buresova, and the deputy chairman, Jan Kalvoda.

The Czech and Slovak parliament representatives will discuss the text of a treaty (between the Czech and Slovak Republics) which should create the basis of the future common state.

By their discussions, the leaders of the Czech and Slovak legislative bodies want to contribute to a better course of a joint session of the Czech and Slovak parliaments' presidiums near Bratislava on November 11-12.

Miklosko told journalists in Bratislava that according to Slovak politicians the treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics should be anchored directly in the Constitution. The preamble of the treaty should explicitly express sovereignty of both republics, he said.

Ivan Carnogursky said on the recent statement by the Federal Government on its intention to share actively in the discussions on the future setup of the state that the Slovak parliament presidium considers it inadmissible to question sovereignty and the primal positions of the two republics.

He acknowledged that there is a possibility that no agreement will be reached at the discussions in Prague today. In that case Slovakia's constitution must be adopted very quickly, Carnogursky said.

Buresova told journalists in Prague in connection with the issue of Slovakia's sovereignty that the adoption by the Slovak National Council of a declaration on (Slovakia's) sovereignty would be unconstitutional. The other National Council (Czech) would then be forced to take certain steps for ensuring its own existence, she pointed out.

Buresova criticised the Slovak parliament for indicating a possibility that a declaration on independence might be adopted in case its representatives are not satisfied with the outcome of the discussions (with the Czech parliament representatives).

Czech parliament Deputy Chairman Jan Kalvoda today told CSTK he feels uneasy about today's talks between the four leading representatives of the Czech and Slovak parliaments.

He described today's session of the Slovak parliament as having an ultimate character. "Whatever the intention of those who proposed to adopt a political declaration on Slovakia's sovereignty was, political symbolism is obvious", Kalvoda stressed.

Before the talks with their Czech colleagues, the Slovak parliament leaders discussed certain new initiatives with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's assistants. Havel was unable to attend the meeting due to illness.

The Slovak officials did not want to specify the initiatives.

Talks End; Results Viewed

LD0911093191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 0900 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] The talks between the highest representatives of the Czech and the Slovak Councils about the text of the treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic ended in Prague late last night.

According to a direct participant in the talks, Pavel (Holander), legal adviser to the speaker of the Slovak parliament, the joint state will probably be a federation rather than a confederation. On the basis of the concluded talks, a joint draft of the treaty between the two republics will be worked out and will be presented at the begnning of next week at the joint talks of the presidia of the two National Councils. Pavel (Holander) also confirmed that jurisdictions on communications, posts, agriculture, and foreign policy are stll points of controversy.

Dienstbier Questioned on Division of Federal State

LD0911211991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Interview with Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by correspondent Alojz Valenta; place and date not given; recorded—questions in Slovak, answers in Czech]

[Text] [Valenta] Mr. Minister, two news conferences have been held in Prague this week, at which it was said that the division of Czechoslovakia has been decided far into the future, that is in the international arena.

[Dienstbier] I think you have in mind the news conference given by Mr. Kukacka, who said that Germany has made a deal with the Soviet Union under which the Czech Lands would fall under the influence of Germany and Slovakia under the influence of the Soviet Union. You see, this is just another of the speculative theories about the possible future course of history that seem to crop up more and more often recently, but it is a mere utopia.

[Valenta] There was also a press briefing given by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, where the view could be heard that Czechoslovak foreign policy should change its direction. When our radio editor asked

what exactly that meant, she was told that there already exist certain plans to divide Czechoslovakia, and so on.

[Dienstbier] Well, when somebody shows me some documents that would prove that the fate of Czechoslovakia is being decided somewhere else, then I am willing to talk about those documents. So far, however, there have only been some fabrications that are totally groundless.

Carnogursky Not Opposed to Referendum

LD0911183791 Prague CSTK in English 1559 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 9 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), said today the Czech and Slovak Republics should conclude a regular agreement based on the principle of the republics' sovereignty.

Speaking at a congress of his party at Zilina, Central Slovakia, Carnogursky said "if such an agreement were not reached, I think we should base our election program on a looser union (of the Czech and Slovak Republics within Czeco-Czechoslovakia -Ed.) than federation".

The next parliamentary elections are scheduled to take place in Czechoslovakia in June 1992.

"If the Czech Republic were not ready to conclude with us an agreement on such a looser union, then we would not be opposed to a referendum in which the citizens (of Czecho-Slovakia) will decide about the state setup (of the country)", Carnogursky said.

The referendum was proposed in the Federal parliament by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in September. He thus responded to the protracted and unfruitful talks between the republics' parliaments on the state setup of Czechoslovakia. The talks still continue. Views of invidivual political parties and movements differ on holding a referendum differ. The wording of the question to be posed to the citizens seems to be the most complex problem.

The KDH congress will discuss amendments to the statutes which would provide for the gradual transformation of the movement into a political party.

The KDH was founded shortly after the November 1989 revolution which toppled the communist regime in Czecho-Slovakia. It emerged from the June 1990 parliamentary elections as the second strongest political force in Slovakia, after the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, winning 30 out of the total of 150 seats in the Slovak parliament and 25 out of the 300 seats in the Federal parliament.

After the VPN split last April, the KDH became the strongest political grouping in Slovakia. According to public opinion polls, the KDH is the second most popular force in Slovakia, after the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of Slovak ex-premier Vladimir Meciar.

Pithart Addresses Slovakia on State Setup

LD0911212491 Prague CSTK in English 1822 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CSTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart said on television tonight that "it is quite possible (for Czechs and Slovaks) to start matter-of-fact and calm talks on a type of coexistence that would be looser than the present state (federation)".

In his personal message to the Slovak nation, in which he traced the 73 years of coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in a common state, Pithart went on to say: "But it is impossible to continue negotiating as we have been practising it up to now....Neither you nor us can take advantage from a common state and at the same time enjoy the advantages of a separate state".

Pithart spoke to the Slovak nation on the eve of a 14th round of talks between the Czech and Slovak political leaders (scheduled to take place in Bratislava on November 11-12) on Czechoslovakia's state setup. All the previous rounds have been fruitless. In Slovakia, there is a strong anti-federal sentiment, especially among nationalist parties like the Slovak National Party (SNS), while other forces, for instance, the opposition Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of Slovak ex-Premier Vladimir Meciar, prefer a confederative setup to the present federation.

In his message, Pithart said "the future of our common state is at stake due also to many misunderstandings on both sides".

"The Czechoslovak state was created (on October 28, 1918) mainly out of Czech political will", Pithart said and added that the Pittsburgh agreement, which was conceived by Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, later Czechoslovakia's first president, and signed also by representaties of ethnic Czechs and Slovaks living in the United States, promised Slovakia autonomy within the Czechoslovak state. This fact, however, was later denied by official leaders of the new state, Pithart said.

"Though the Slovak nation got important assistance from the Czech nation after 1918, its value was challenged by the Czech attitude which we call 'Czechoslovakism', an ideology which "denied the Slovak nation its identity and which described it as part of a fabricated Czechoslovak nation", Pithart said.

"It is a tragedy of both the Slovaks and Czechs that Slovak (emancipation) efforts could be asserted only when the expansionism of Nazi Europe disrupted Europe", Pithart said.

"It is a tragedy of the Slovak nation that its political representatives cooperated too tightly with Nazi Germany".

On March 14, 1939, a separate pro-Nazi Slovak state was created in Slovakia (the eastern and smaller part of Czechoslovakia), while the Czech Lands in the west were

occupied by Nazi Germany and "the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" was proclaimed there. Earlier, following the Munich Agreement signed by Germany, Britain, France and Italy in September 1938, the Czech Lands were stripped of the German-inhabited Sudeten lands.

"After World War Two the common state was renewed, but it fell into the sphere of Soviet influence.... After February 1948 (when the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia) the institutions of the very limited autonomy of Slovakia were liquidated, Slovakia was controlled from Prague and a number of Slovak politicians, clergymen and intellectuals were imprisoned.... But this was not the result of a certain attitude of the Czechs towards Slovakia, but of the power monopoly of the communist party whose Central Committee applied a centralist policy in relation to both the Slovaks and Czechs. The long era of this rule claimed lives on both the Czech and Slovak sides", Pithart said.

"But this period also witnessed the industrialisation of Slovakia (a predominantly agrarian country up to the the end of World War Two).... In the middle of the forty years, our federation was created (1969)... which, however, did not fulfil your expectations. In my view this was not by the fault of the Czechs, but of the 'normalisation' regime (installed after a Soviet-led invasion crushed the communist-led reform movement in Czechoslovakia in August 1968), which affected both you and us", Pithart said.

He also mentioned the "Czechs' bad habit of disparaging Slovakia in a way which is also called Czech paternalism. This is the arrogance of the 'elder brother'".

"Now, the Slovaks are a mature cultural nation ... undoubtedly capable of managing their own state if they opted for it. But there must have also been good sides to our coexistence: the gaps (in the economic level) between our two nations have been levelled out at a pace that is unique in Europe", Pithart said.

"It is not up to me, but up to you to consider this", he stressed.

Carnogursky on Pithart Address

LD1011175191 Prague CSTK in English 1549 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 10 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky told CSTK today Czech Premier Petr Pithart yesterday showed comprehension for Slovakia's demands with regard to the state setup of Czechoslovakia.

Carnogursky was reacting to Pithart's televised personal message to the Slovak nation in which he partly satisfied the Slovak demands when he said that "it is quite possible to start matter-of-fact and calm talks on a type of coexistence that would be looser than the present state (federation-ed.)".

Pithart delivered the message on the eve of the 14th round of talks between the Czech and Slovak political leaders on the state setup of Czechoslovakia scheduled to take place in Bratislava November 11-12. The Slovaks are pushing for such an arrangement of relations between Czechs and Slovaks which would allow Slovak national identity to be fully asserted.

Carnogursky said if no agreement were reached that would respect the sovereignty of the Slovak and Czech Republics (which now constitute the Czechoslovak Federation), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) of which he is the chairman and which is the strongest government partner would assert a looser union than federation between the two republics.

"If Czech political leaders would not agree to the conclusion of an agreement on such a looser union, then the KDH would not be opposed to holding a referendum on the state setup for Czechoslovakia", Carnogursky said.

At a press conference during the KDH congress at Zilina, central Slovakia, last night, Carnogursky said the "looser union than federation" may be confederation or some other type of state.

Reacting to Friday's proposal by the KDH deputy to the Slovak parliament, Anton Hykis, that the current 18th session of the parliament adopt a declaration on the sovereigntyy of the Slovak Republic, Carnogursky said this is not the way in which recognition under international law should be sought. He said he does not think the KDH deputies will support the proposal.

The Slovak parliament's session did not make any final decision on the proposal. Its deliberations will continue on Wednesday November 13.

Carnogursky said he realises the geopolitical and internal political consequences of the establishment of an independent Slovak state, and especially if it were declared in an unconstitutional way and without adequate support of the Slovak population.

According to the latest poll conducted by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research, 52 per cent of Slovaks back the federation.

Havel Views Progress on Constitution Talks

LD1011162191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by editor Stanislava Dufkova on 9 November; place not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] Mr. President, a great deal has happened since our last conversation. When we made the recording of it at your country retreat at Hradecek, it was Saturday, and you were preparing yourself for a meeting with the highest constitutional officials. Today is once again Saturday afternoon. How do you view those talks?

[Havel] Yes, the talks really took place last Sunday. Reports about them appeared in newspapers. Those who took part also reported in one way or another about them. A communique emerged. All this is generally known. It seems to me that my feeling that things are heating up is being confirmed. In any case, I have been saying this for some time already. We are entering the final stages when several fundamental matters have to be resolved and an agreement reached.

I would like to draw people's attention to one matter. When citizens hear politicians talking—or when they read reports in newspapers—about these talks, they may start feeling that these are some kind of complicated legalistic niceties, and details about ratification of the constitution and the treaty are detached from everyday life; they are about what will precede what and what relationship this or that will have with another one, and so on. They may have the feeling that politicians have gone a bit mad, that they have been holding meetings throughout the whole past year, talking for hours and going round the same thing. Citizens can feel that the situation is serious and dangerous, and it may seem to them that politicians are, in effect, making it serious by their curious continuous discussions.

I would like to say the following about it: Yes, it may seem like this, but hidden behind these legalistic niceties, question marks, differences, and conjectures is something different, something that goes far deeper. We are searching, in effect for the first time in our history, for a really just method of coexistence of both our two nations and all our citizens in general, and this is not an easy task. We are not putting right in this case only what the communists did during the past 40 years, for we are facing a totally new historic task. Let us realize that the Slovak nation, or the citizens of the Slovak Republic, lived for many centuries in a different state setup and in different conditions than the inhabitants of the Czech Lands. This means that for centuries their historical experiences, their traditions, their social models of behavior were shaped differently. All such experiences that were acquired wrote themselves into the collective memory of that community. Written in that memory were somewhat different experiences, and they were written in a somewhat different way than was the case of the Czechs or the inhabitants of the Czech Lands—the Moravians and Silesians. When we talk about a different national character and disposition, then we understand primarily and mainly what shapes a collective experience that is passed from generation to generation. The first republic, the emergence of our modern state, did not resolve this problem satisfactorily and sufficiently and, for many various reasons, it could not even do so.

We are now attempting to do this. This great historic task is, therefore, concealed behind various, as it were, detached legalistic debates. Whether these debates will be any good and whether, in this way, we are doing it well or not cannot be judged at this moment. The future and history will make their own judgment. If everything goes well, we shall find a democratic form for our state. We shall adopt a new constitution, and our state will not disintegrate, especially not in a wild manner. Chaos and a situation of dual law will not occur. All political representations will come to some agreement. Then it will be seen that these talks were not futile. [passage omitted]

If we fail in our endeavors, then we can rightly be condemned. It can then be rightly said that we failed in this historic test and that we could have done it better. This will all be shown. I have the feeling that this will be shown rather soon, because this state of affairs cannot last indefinitely. It seems that we are entering, I would not want to say the finale or the conclusive stage, for we do not know how many various stages this process may still take. In any case, one stage of these talks is reaching its climax in its own way. It will reach this climax in Bratislava next week. Perhaps next week we shall be able to judge whether all these talks have achieved something. Perhaps at this moment I should say the following on the matter: Among the constitutional officials and highest political representatives whom I mostly meet during these talks, there is a visible will to have a common state and to observe constitutional procedure. This is apparent. [passage omitted]

Many people are currently working intensively, because all of them feel that things are really heating up. Our citizens are rightly beginning to be impatient. They would like to see some results, and I completely agree with them in this matter and am on their side. I myself am nervous because there has still been little tangible result achieved. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] In the meantime, of course, an attempt to declare the sovereignty of Slovakia was made on Friday. This has alarmed many people.

[Havel] That attempt proceeds from certain pre-history. There have, in fact, been more such attempts. This current attempt has several dimensions, so to speak. On the one hand, some political forces in Slovakia proceed from the premise that if the relationship between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic is to be truly equal—if it is to be expressed in a contractual way—and if the common state is to emerge truly from the will of the two sovereign republics, then the republics must first declare this sovereignty in some way: proclaim, demonstrate, and make it known. This need and aspiration to define oneselves in a certain declarative manner, to define one's sovereignty, is very strong on the Slovak side. It has had its own long tradition and is understandable. On the other hand, though, it has a very dangerous dimension that sounds a warning.

What, in fact, is sovereignty? A citizen, a community each has its own sovereignty. Each one has its own degree of sovereignty that belongs to him. Each, in turn, delegates a section of his sovereignty to higher institutions. [passage omitted] Similarly, higher bodies—in this case the republics—have delegated a portion of their sovereignty to the federation. They delegated it in 1968,

when our federation came into being. It was, however, done clumsily and badly since it was carried out under pressure and, in the end, it was reversed due to the Soviet occupation. We know all this. Nonetheless, in our constitutional system, the republics possess a certain degree of sovereignty; they are the original sources of such sovereignty, and they yield a portiom of their sovereignty to the common state. The common state does exist here; it has its own constitutional system. The dangerous dimension of these attempts lies precisely in the fact that they can contain within themselves elements that violate or destroy the present constitutionality and threaten to create a state of dual law.

The last version of the declaration on sovereignty proposed for last Fridayt for discussion in the Slovak legislature by Deputy Hykisch refers to the existing Constitution and the like. It is, in fact, not in variance with anything, except for one thing. At the very end, it says that the Slovak Republic is a subject of international law. Well, it is not. Under the present constitutional system, it is the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic that is the subject of international law, since both republics entrusted this status to the common state. If such a thing is declared, then it creates a precedent and marks the beginning of the creation of the state of dual law. Although it was not a constitutional act, and indeed any law on it was to have been some kind of a declaration, nonetheless there is present in that declaration a factor that runs at variance with the currently valid Constitution, and this is dangerous.

The matter also has political dimensions. To a certain degree the Czech side can see it as a kind of pressure to speed up talks on the treaty that are to begin on Monday, or to serve as a warning and a signal that it is time to move ahead. It can also have another political dimension. Currently, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is holding a congress, and Deputy Anton Hykisch is a KDH deputy. The declaration was made at the time when Prime Minister Carnogursky was not present in the country. Other political considerations may also play a role here.

When we sum this up, the situation is, nonetheless, tending to be serious, and this confirms what I have said a short while ago that the coming week will perhaps be a decisive one, because unless a modus vivendi is found that would be acceptable to both sides and that would be in line with our constitutional system, and if a way is not found to transform our state into a truly democratic federation, then it is apparent that the danger of non-constitutional steps will increase significantly.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, you keep receiving a lot of letters, including open letters. As far as I know, this week you have received a letter from Messrs. John Bok and Jirous, a letter from the council of the community of writers regarding an intervention of government officials in Slovakia in the sphere of freedom of art—regarding a story by Martin Kasarda—and you also received a letter from the Dubrovnik mayor. Which letter would you like now—it is Saturday afternoon—to comment on?

[Havel] [passage omitted] As far as those individual letters you mentioned are concerned, I am aware that not long ago my friends of long standing, John Bok and Ivan Jirous, sent me an open letter saying: Mr. Calfa, go to hell! This statement has, perhaps, a certain poetic beauty, and I even understand the motives for such a call, but I cannot agree with it.

One is in a somewhat different situation watching state officials' work from a close distance than watching it from a distance as a member of the general public. I am aware of how much work was done by Marian Calfa, for which we should be grateful to him. It was he who, at one time during the day of revolution, zig-zagged to provide more help than anybody else in preserving some sort of continuity in the state administration, for the peaceful course of our democratic revolution. Since then, he has really done much, much work. His way of heading the government is excellent. He is also to be credited for his part in talks on a constitutional setup and other issues. He is a man without whom I can hardly imagine our political leadership of this day. Moreover, the thing that is mostly held against him—that he played a role in the previous government, the Adamec Government, and that he came over from the previous regime—emerges as an extraordinary advantage. He is, in fact, the only man who knew how things are run—who knew about the everyday work of the government apparatus, contacts between the government and legislature. All the others are, in fact, new men, and he is the man who understood his time, its calling and demands, and was capable of transferring the existing apparatus to serve the new order. Moreover, he is a democratically elected deputy of the Federal Assembly who was elected by his electorate. I really do not see any reason why he should suddenly go to hell—despite the call by my friends for this to happen. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] And what would you say about the letter from the Dubrovnik mayor?

[Havel] The Dubrovnik mayor wrote a very moving and evocative letter to me, in which he begs me to do something to save the town and above all its citizens.

I have to say that, before receiving this letter, I already felt very depressed when following with horror reports about attacks on Dubrovnik, about bombs and shells falling on this town. [passage omitted] I admit that I feel more and more alarmed by the situation in Yugoslavia; I feel alarmed by the massacres that are going on. It is my view that unless some kind of firm action is taken, this conflict will not necessarily preserve its local, regional character—I have already said this several times before. It is, in fact, a meeting place of three cultures, three civilizations, and every local conflict necessarily radiates its impact around and grows dangerous, especially in the changing and unstable world of today.

If the international community does not move very quickly toward much firmer steps, then perhaps it will really be necessary for Czechoslovakia to attempt to do something on its own, without waiting all the time just to join the others.

[Dufkova] Another event that took place last week was the NATO summit. Has anything ensued from it for Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] Yes, I think that the summit was of historic significance, even though not everyone might see this at first sight, since no preconditions were created there for an immediate institutionalization of relations between, for instance, our countries and the North Atlantic Alliance. Nevertheless, no one really expected this to happen. This is a step in the right direction, of mainly conceptual character. It is a step in the direction that, together with the Poles and Hungarians, we have been recommending to this alliance for a long time since, at this moment, we see in it the only existing and functioning security system on the European soil that, in addition, links Europe with the North American continent. We see it as a community with good prospects that could be a guarantor of a security system of some future pan-European community.

The emphasis in the communique is put on the link with the Helsinki process. Through the establishment of the North Atlantic Council, NATO is also opening itself to our countries, from which it is apparent that the North Atlantic Alliance is becoming aware of the radical new situation in Europe and its share of responsibility for this situation. If somebody expected more, he might be disappointed, but one should realize that in politics everything takes a long time. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] You are going to spend next week in Bratislava. Every day there is probably going to be very busy, but could you still tell us what you are looking forward to doing there?

[Havel] [passage omitted] The first point on my agenda there—perhaps the most interesting and especially important for us—is my presence at the opening of talks between the presidia of the National Councils, which will concern an agreement between the republics and, in general, our future constitutional setup. I am to deliver an opening speech there, and on this occasion, I would like to attempt to present an insight in these issues, reasoning about their various aspects, about the reasons for various controversies and conflicts—and to do so in a more specific way than I have done in today's "Conversations." I would like to call on all the participants there to show a political will to reach a consensus.

National Council Presidia Meeting Begins 11 Nov

Havel Addresses Presidia

LD1111183291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1310 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at a meeting of the presidia of the Czech and Slovak National Councils at Papiernicka on 11 November—recorded]

[Text] What is the situation today? First, society is very impatient and very perturbed. Perhaps not all citizens understand terms like ratification, or what is or what is not constitutional, what is to precede what, and what should follow from what; but even if they do not understand it all, they are aware of one thing: that there are serious controversies here that concern the very existence and future of our state and that the situation is serious. They are impatient because we have been having talks for too long, and we have too few concrete results. People are not indifferent to this, and they are interested to know what sort of state they are going to live in. This was indicated by the petition calling for a referendum that was signed by over 1 million people, that at the same time indicated the will to preserve the common state. In this atmosphere, which is very tense, very nervous, and full of expectation, this round of talks is beginning.

If you permit me, I will briefly try to describe the problem that it seems you are to solve during your deliberations. A draft has been prepared of a treaty between the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council, to be concluded, like everything they do, on behalf of the republics. It contains various options and alternative proposals; opinions differ in various places. It seems today, however, that the problem does not lie in the text as such—in the division of jurisdictions and in the basic idea about the future state legislative arrangements. It seems that the main problem lies in something else—in the genre of the treaty: what the treaty actually is, what its legal validity is, what its relation to the Constitution and the Federal Assembly is, and so on. This issue that appears to be only a formal one is not a formal one because different views of the two negotiating sides are reflected in it. Where does the problem lie? The Slovak side, in its very understandable effort to make its sovereignity as firm as possible and to express its equality with the Czech Republic, would like to see this treaty have the force of law and permanent validity; it would like to make it a key legal document of the future state. On the other hand, the Czech side is concerned that, if this treaty is given such a high measure of legal force, if it becomes a sort of permanent source of law, we will find ourselves in a bad and a controversial situation. On the one hand, we will have a federal constitution as the highest law of the joint state, and yet next to it, there will be a different legal norm that will have the same, if not greater, legal force than the constitution. It would be strange if, on one hand, our state took a form in which the highest law is the Constitution, as is customary, and at the same time it became a loose union of republics, the highest legal norm of which were a treaty existing in parallel with the Constitution. The Czech side sees this as a very dangerous situation.

What are the ways out of this situation and controversy? This is the nut to be cracked by your deliberations. I personally think that, if you agree on the text of the treaty and it is endorsed by the plenums of the National Councils, this treaty could become a political document

of the highest possible force, which would become the basis for all further legal documents.

The treaty would be more than a pure legislative initiative. As a legislative initiative, it could be delivered to the Federal Assembly with the specification that, for the Federal Assembly, it would and should become the way out for the work on the federal constitution, but it would be something more. It would be also a pledge by the National Councils to themselves and to each other, and a directive for the construction of the constitutions of the republics. The treaty would be made effective, in a certain way. It could come into force from the moment of its endorsement as a display of the joint state, as its idea, its project, its concept—a binding guide for both republics that would be proposed to the Federal Assembly as a legislative initiative. At the moment when all three constitutions are adopted, the treaty would continue to exist as a legal document of the highest importance, but its legal validity would be implemented by its reflection in the three constitutions. The legal validity of this treaty would be implemented by its application in all constitutions, by its application in our total legislative system. This would not mean that it would cease to apply, but it would not be a sort of legal norm next to the constitution: it would be a legal norm within the constitution, applied through the constitution.

The Slovak side is concerned that the Federal Assembly would be able to change the constitution at its will and, in this way, violate the original agreement. It asks where the arbiter is who would assess it, where the guarantee is that the treaty would not be betrayed or abandoned in some way. This concern is also the reason for their insistence on some permanent legal force for the treaty.

I personally believe that to answer this concern or to exclude it as groundless is a task for legislators. It is a task for the creators of all three constitutions because these constitutions should contain mechanisms that would prevent any possibility that the spirit and principles of the treaty from which they actually arose could be abandoned. In this connection, I would like to attract your attention to a proposal that I proposed some time ago, when I published a working draft of the constitution: the idea of the Federal Council. It is a matter that you should talk about because, so far, the part of the drafts of the treaty that is about proposals on the structure of federal representative bodies is the one that has been least worked out, and there are a great many alternatives. This is the least clarified of them all. This means that, if you are to work out the treaty, you must concentrate on the passage that is the furthest from completion. It would, however, have another purpose as well. It might provide the way to crack open the procedural nut, because the aim is to anchor in the constitution the mechanisms that would guarantee to the republics their equal position and that would render it impossible that any joint federal body could violate the interests of the republics. The idea of the Federal Council is for it to be next to the Federal Assembly—which is a legislature elected by all citizens—there should be a sort of second chamber, separate from the legislature, but in parallel with it, with a certain number—I proposed 15—representatives of the two National Councils, preferably the members of the presidium. In this way, the highest representatives of the republics would together form this federal formation that would have the suspending right of veto. It could return laws to the Federal Assembly and would become an instrument of the republics for control of the way the federation behaved.

The idea of a senate elected directly by citizens does not seem good to me, because it actually would be the current Chamber of Nations in a different version and with a prettier name. The current clumsy model would be repeating itself, with a group of representatives really based on the republics whom Slovakia takes as the authentic, and then the federative representation that looks secondarily derived, less representative. If the National Councils together formed a federal body, a federal council, lasting control of the republics over the behavior of the federation would be clearly, practically, and operationally anchored, and this would also guarantee continuous monitoring of whether the Federal Assembly observes the original treaty or whether it violates it.

This proposal is based on an idea that I would like to put forward here and that I have already urged on a number of occasions. I think that the main problem is that for many various and, to a considerable extent, justified and comprehensible reasons, the Slovak side sees the federation as something foreign to it, something slightly hostile, something that, in its very basis, limits the republic and its development. The fight for getting as many jurisdictions as possible for the republic does, to some extent, contain the assumption that, in principle, what is federal is bad and what is of the republic is good— as though the federation was a straitjacket binding the republics, limiting them, or even harming them. I feel that if this was what the federation would become it would serve no purpose. In my opinion, the federation serves a purpose only if both republics see it as their joint work, as their own product, their child, something they have created of their own will, freely, for themselves and for their benefit. This is what I find most important. What else is the federation but two republics that have agreed that it is more beneficial for them to do some things jointly: to found what we call today a joint state. The idea of the Federal Council that I have mentioned tries to embody this: that the federation is nothing other than these two republics, that the highest officials of the republics together are nothing other than a federal formation. Basically, the Federal Council would be a body like the one at these talks today, only perhaps a bit smaller. It could be in session any time and would be clearly defined by the Constitution. It would have its rights and would see to it that the federal institutions did not violate the will of the republics.

There are also other safety valves, be it the suspension of majority rule in some matters or in all matters—in the republic legislatures or in the Federal Assembly; the Constitutional Court, the institution for ratification of the constitution by the National Councils—all these are safety valves that should ensure that the federation is really just and that it cannot distance itself in any way from the republican will and the spirit of the treaty [smlouva] that the republics have concluded and from which all three constitutions have emerged. In other words, to sum up: I believe that the time is ripe for you, the presidia of the two National Councils, to draft the text of this treaty, to agree on it.

The passage concerning powers seems the clearest—there are only relatively small differences. You should complete the drafting of that passage concerning federal bodies, federal legislative bodies, or legislative bodies of a common state, if you like, if you do not want to use the word federation. You should, above all, and mainly, think again about the problem of the legal or political character of the treaty. It seems to me that the treaty should be a clear starting point for our entire constitutional system, a political document carrying the greatest political weight, which has a legal power in relation to the republics because it binds them to draft their constitutions in this spirit and that is of great political importance for the Federal Assembly. The Assembly cannot, in fact, adopt any constitution other than that which will proceed from this treaty—which has, formally, in relation to the Federal Assembly, a character of legislative initiative because it is in harmony with the existing constitutional system. This is the easiest possible method. In addition to this, there exists the additional ratification of the federal constitution by the National Councils. The National Councils have a guarantee that if the Federal Assembly should decide to distance itself from the spirit of the treaty, this would be in vain, as the National Councils could then not approve it.

At the same time, and I repeat this again, when the treaty is reflected fully in all three constitutions, then it would legally be active through those constitutions and, via them, would continue to exist as a political document that is permanently valid as their source, as their original starting point. This is how I see it in general terms, but you may come to some other solution. I did not want to say too much, give too many details, as there exist various other alternatives, possibilities, and so on. No doubt you will discuss all this—this is your task. I would only like to wish you success. I would like to express my conviction that on both sides there will be the will to reach an understanding and that you will find a solution that will calm down our impatient citizens.

KDH Clarifies Position

LD1211095491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] Constitutional talks between the Czech and Slovak National Council presidia in Casta Papiernicka will enter their second day today as parties failed to reach agreement on the first day. Top representatives of the two republics and the federation met for talks overnight. Jiri Vlach, deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, told us the following on this matter:

[Begin Vlach recording] The success of these talks lies in the fact that, in this very serious situation, they were finally completely open. Based on the results of today's talks, it was stated that an accord on the treaty was almost impossible; therefore, it was necessary to say openly why it was impossible. After discussion, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] came up with substantially new information. The Czech side speaks about a common state and we—that is, the KDH—about cooperation between two states. The KDH further said, through its chairman, that it would stop blocking a referendum in the Federal Assembly but that first it was necessary to agree on the wording of the question. Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky's proposal was roughly: Are you in favor of a confederation? We—the other participants—argued that there was a common state here and that, therefore, we must first ask: Are you in favor of leaving the common state—in other words, are you in favor of an independent Slovak state? Naturally, this would be a question for the Slovak part of the state. After a brief debate, Jan Carnogursky agreed with this. Another debate showed clearly that this new KDH position, this new and finally clear position, was really as we heard it. It could also be heard here that, if the National Councils' presidia fail to reach an agreement, then the KDH can use the mandate that was given to it at this weekend's congress to agree to launch a referendum. I would like to add only one thing, and that is that I personally feel relieved that this clear information is finally out and that we are finally clear about things. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry: EC Sanctions 'Not Binding'

LD0811173991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Czechoslovakia is not yet a member of the European Community and, therefore, decisions made by the twelve are not binding on us, Egon Lansky, spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said today. His statement was in response to the declaration of sanctions against Yugoslavia that the European Community publicly announced today in Rome. He stressed, however, that when the sanctions are declared by the United Nations Security Council, Czechoslovakia will respect such a decision.

Belgrade TV Reports Hungarian Plane Shot Down

Defense Ministry Denies Incident

LD0811201791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] According to a report on Belgrade television, a Hungarian plane was shot down in the Apatin region [near Kopacevo] in the border area. [as heard] In connection with this report, the Hungarian Defense Ministry spokesman told our radio station that it definitely could not be a military plane because all the pilots patrolling during the day returned safe and sound with their fighter planes. As is known, the Yugoslav leadership has several times accused Hungary of illegally transporting weapons to Croatia with agricultural planes. However, this has been denied every time by the Hungarian side.

Spokesman Keleti Comments

LD0811221691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] According to a report on Belgrade Television, a Hungarian military plane was shot down on the border between the two countries. I asked Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense, if is was possible that the report could have any kind of foundation.

[Begin recording] [Keleti] It is out of the question. This news is without any substance, for the very simple reason that the number of the Hungarian Air Force is complete. It is true that today we had to, on several occasions, send up fighter planes and helicopters, because the planes of the Yugoslav Air Force approached the borders of the Hungarian Republic closer than 30 km. But even the last of our patrol planes landed, in order, at 1649, and at the appointed airfield, and this airfield is on Hungarian territory.

[Correspondent] Colonel, why is it that in Serbia and in Belgrade again and again similar news arises? In whose interests can this be, and why?

[Keleti] I think there is a very simple explanation, among others, that yesterday, as is known, we showed the Yugoslav ambassador and attache, and the Hungarian and international press as well, evidence connected with the bombing of Barcs.

If I may phrase it this way, it could almost be expected that some kind of Yugoslav reaction would take place—in this form as well. This means that the extremist circles that have interests in the deteriorating relations between our countries are still in operation, and they are not ashamed to publicize worldwide such aggressive and malicious news about Hungary. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Supports SFRY Peacekeeping Force

LD1111155691 Budapest MTI in English 1422 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—"Hungarian foreign policy has, over the past months, consistently called for a more effective role to be taken by the most important international forums in resolving the Yugoslavian crisis. Hungary has taken a stand for the steps taken by the United Nations, the CSCE and the European communities.

"The main principles of resolving the crisis have been extensively approved in the course of international efforts. These include non-recognition of border alterations achieved by force, and respect for human rights, including the rights of the minorities," said Janos Herman, spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in an interview with MTI on Monday.

Herman was speaking in connection with the report that the UN Security Council would discuss, probably on Monday, a proposal for the international organization to peace-keeping forces to Yugoslavia.

"In harmony with earlier Hungarian standpoints and also keeping in mind the need to consistently enforce the above mentioned principles, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry welcomes the heightened acceptance of a role by the United Nations, and within this the initiative to send peace-keeping forces to Yugoslavia.

"Naturally, the presence of peace-keeping forces cannot legalise the seizure of territories to the detriment of the individual republics. We are confident that the activities of the peace-keeping forces will contribute to the soonest possible enforcement of a cease-fire, and to the just, and reassuring settlement of the crisis," Herman said.

Jeszenszky Views Talks With Vance, SFRY Crisis

AU1111105191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Nov 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Csaba Nagy in Budapest on 7 November: "I Can See More Clearly"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Following our talks with Cyrus Vance, we asked Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky about the negotiations with the U.S. official.

[Nagy] Minister Jeszenszky, following these talks, do you see any possibility of the crisis breaking out of its current deadlock?

[Jeszenszky] A peace process can never be hopeless. We hope that we will not need to wait for years (or even months) for a solution. I find it very significant that the United Nations has charged an experienced man of state like Cyrus Vance to act as mediator. Not only is he an

excellent jurist and politician, he also has the indispensable objectivity and humanist commitment needed for a successful completion of this mission. During our official talks and private conversation, I noticed that he has a very objective judgment and a clear view of the situation. His proposals and personal impressions carry weight. He is participating in NATO's current talks in Rome, and his opinion is also influential at the Hague conference.

[Nagy] Earlier reactions gave us the impression that the United Nations did not take this crisis seriously, that it had somehow abandoned Europe. Does Vance's tour give you the impression that the international organization is giving more appropriate attention to the war?

[Jeszenszky] The starting point was that the 12 European countries—or the 38 CSCE countries—could achieve something more easily than the United Nations, which has more than 150 members. That is still true. Nevertheless, the Security Council is the highest decision-making body in the world. As I see it, the EC and the United Nations agree on the basic principles, and they strengthen each other through the steps they take. Since the Gulf war, the United Nations has gained new perspectives, so I think that the role adopted by the Security Council is extremely positive under the present circumstances.

Hungary has two reasons to hope for the earliest possible resolving of this crisis. First of all, it is in our basic interest that there be peace in our neighboring region. Second, ethnic Hungarians in Yugoslavia rightly expect us to help represent their interests at international forums like the conference in The Hague or the United Nations.

In our talks with Cyrus Vance, we emphasized the national minority issue, not primarily because of the Hungarian connection, but because of the starting point in a solution to this crisis: The key to the Yugoslav issue is the guaranteeing of the rights of national minorities and various ethnic groups. Incidentally, this is stressed in the latest United Nations document dated 3 November. I think that the theoretical solution is very good. Together with Lord Carrington, Vance now also completely supports this proposal, and I think that we were able to consolidate his opinion with a few arguments.

[Nagy] How do we break out of the current situation?

[Jeszenszky] The international community—be that Europe or the Security Council—should make it clear to all the parties involved in the conflict (and this particularly applies to the commanders in the military conflict) that the world will not tolerate this war. The world will not tolerate the violation of military law or attacks against civilian targets. The world will be ready and willing to enforce the fundamental principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and other international documents.

NATO's Woerner Discusses East European Security

LD1011114891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0730 GMT 10 Nov 91

["Exclusive" interview with NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner by correspondent Miklos Martin Kovacs place not given—recorded, in English with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The heads of states and governments of NATO met in Rome this weekend. [passage omitted] How will the NATO summit decide about relations with eastern-central Europe? We have been waiting all week for a response to this question. On Friday [8 November], after the end of the Rome consultation, our correspondent Miklos Martin Kovacs was given an exclusive interview with NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner, who, incidentally has been confirmed in his position for a further two years.

[Kovacs] [passage omitted] Do you think that the presently adopted documents will guarantee greater security for Hungary than hitherto?

[Woerner] I have no doubt that the new level of our relations, the institutionalized consultations which we agreed on, the extended cooperation which is starting now, will strengthen security. Not only Hungary's security, but also that of the other states, which we have this kind of relation with. This is a very simple thing. Everybody who is aware that our alliance is the strongest, most powerful collective security organization in the world, would think twice about attacking or even threatening such a country. We are not talking about formal security guarantees. But I think that this is a contribution to Hungary's and the other's security.

[Kovacs] You have invited all of the eastern and central European countries to the meeting of the newly formed North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Does this mean that you do not see any significant differences between them despite the changes which took place in some of these countries?

[Woerner] First of all, we indeed invite them to our first meeting which is to be held in December by the foreign ministers following the pattern of the North Atlantic (?Council meeting) at ministerial level. We want to convene these meetings once a year. However, this does not exclude the possibility of separate consultations with one or two or three of them. We remain very flexible. It is not necessary in every instance for everybody to be present. We can decide about this in the given case separately.

[Kovacs] So did you expect that in Rome, especially regarding eastern-central Europe, that NATO would have carried out such a historic change—or is this a bit too much to expect?

[Woerner] We prepared everything very carefully. I had the opportunity to discuss the preparation with Prime

Minister Antall when he visited Brussels. Thus, there is no question of surprise. However, let me tell you very clearly that this is a very important step forward, which is not to be underestimated by anybody. I am also certain that the nations concerned consider this an important step on the road to more solid safety in Europe.

[Kovacs] My last question concerns the internal situation of NATO. Does the U.S. dominance still exist, or have you found a new balance among the members here in Rome?

[Woerner] This alliance, in all its history, was very different from the former Warsaw Pact organization. There was no domination by any country, not even by the United States, even though it always had a very important role. And it will be the same in the future too, but this is not dominance. What we are trying to do and what, I think, we have successfully started to do is to strengthen the European pillars. Now it depends entirely on the Europeans. The more unified they become, the more they are going to participate, the more influence they are going to have on this alliance. What we are striving for is the principle of two equal pillars. The North American pillar consisting of the United States and Canada, and the European one. This is our goal. And I think we have now come closer to that goal.

Antall, Luxembourg's Santer View Current Issues

LD1111162791 Budapest MTI in English 1337 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—"Luxembourg strives to further intensify its political, economic and financial relations with Hungary. Parallel to this, in the wake of intensifying internal cooperation within the European Communities, it is interested in the European integration organization opening up towards the central-eastern European region. With respect to security policy, the Luxembourg approach is that the security of NATO is inseparable from the security of eastern Europe," said Jacques Santer, prime minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, who is currenty on an official visit to Budapest.

On Monday, Santer was ceremoniously received in Budapest's Kossuth Square, with military honours. He then held talks with his host, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, followed by talks with Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly.

Antall and Santer evaluated their talks at an international press conference on Monday afternoon. Antall mainly discussed the development of security policy, stressing that the recently ended Rome NATO conference has yielded significant results for Hungary, too. Antall termed the opening position of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation towards central-eastern Europe, to be of historical importance.

Discussions were also held about the evaluation of the Yugoslavian situation. In this context, Jacques Santer and Jozsef Antall agreed that the settlement of the crisis should be approached from international standpoints. The United Nations could figure prominently in this, alongside the European Communities.

Antall cautioned that the Yugoslav issue is a test for European cooperation, and for world solidarity. The inability of the world to act would be a negative message, which could appear as a destabilising factor in Europe, and would most probably have serious effects on the transformation processes taking place in the Soviet Union.

Antall Meets With Romanian Hungarian Party

AU1111095791 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, 8 November (MTI)—Ground was broken today on the official relations between the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania (DFHR) and leading Hungarian politicans. The DFHR delegation, headed by Geza Domokos on a four-day visit, met with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and discussed the importance of developing political relations between the two countries. Part of the concern is the attacks ethnic Hungarians currently face in Romania, aggravated by severe economic problems and the shortages expected this winter.

Both groups agree that international isolation of Romania would only make matters worse and support is needed toward the Romanian push for some sort of international integration.

Diplomatic Relations Expected With Ukraine Soon

LD0811214791 Budapest MTI in English 1807 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—Hungary and the Ukraine are expected to establish diplomatic relations as early as this month, state secretary of the prime minister's office Geza Entz told MTI after visiting Kiev.

The sovereign Ukraine wants to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Entrz reported on his talks with Ukrainian leaders. The country wants to ante up and meet obligations stemming from the Soviet Union's duties in arms reduction and in military and economic spheres, he said.

The autonmy of Sub-Carpathia, a region with considerable ethnic Hungarian minority, is a controversial matter in the Ukraine. Ukrainian politicians wish to collect more information on the spot, Entz said. The Hungarian minority will vote in favour of an independent Ukraine at a referendum schedule for early December, it was stated during Entz's talks in Uzhgorod.

Also, the Hungarian delegation received a promise border zone traffic will be resumed before long.

Socialist Party's Tabajdi Recounts Moscow Talks

LD0811215191 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, November 8 (MTI)—The possibility of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union joining NATO is an egg Russia wants to keep in its basket. Such an aim, however, should be realized together because eastern Europe becoming a NATO member on its own could provoke Moscow's fears, a Russian foreign affairs official reportedly said to Hungarian Socialist Party MP Csaba Tabajdi.

Tabajdi was recounting recent talks in Moscow about a multi-party system in the Soviet Union and Soviet parties, foreign and home policies.

Soviet democratic parties are open towards Hungarian parliamentary parties. The Soviet Democratic Reform Movement headed by former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze values inter-party dialogue in eastern Europe and is ready to contribute to its success, Tabajdi said.

Shevardnadze welcomed a Hungarian proposal, by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn, for a east-central European security system and offered to help promote it.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin's policy may bring about a disintegration of not only the Soviet Union but of Russia as well. The fear is the policy will provoke serious conflicts such as in Russian-Ukrainian relations, Tabajdi was told at the talks.

Antall Views Egypt Visit, Trade With Arab States

LD1011223791 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Joszef Antall by unidentified correspondent on his visit to Egypt; place and date not given; from the "This Week" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] In the past decades the Arab states enjoyed the position as a rather significant priority, at the expense of Israel, in the foreign policy of the Hungarian governments. This priority has been terminated by the sovereign Hungary, by your government. How did your Egyptian negotiating partners receive this?

[Antall] I would say that Hungary has, in fact, reestablished its normal, well-balanced foreign relations system. I would not say that we have shifted priority from the Arab world to Israel, but rather that we pursue a balanced policy regarding Israel and the Arab countries. At most we can say that we have modified the trends, the country's orientation within the Arab world. We strive for close relations with those Arab countries which are useful for the country economically and which do mean profit not losses.

On the other hand, it represents a new region for us and from the cultural as well as the political points of view we want to maintain relations with those Arab countries which have a realistic approach to the Middle East crisis, to their ties with Europe, and to their international ties in general. This is exactly why Egypt was the first Arab country I chose to visit. One must not forget the fact that Israel, with whom we wish to increase relations, takes part in our foreign trade with a sum of about 50 million dollars on the basis of last year, Egypt with almost 70 million dollars, and if we take the whole Arab world, then this whole Islamic region in the Middle East means a sum around 1 billion dollars for Hungarian foreign trade.

Therefore, I believe that it is unnecessary to stress how important this region is for us from the viewpoint of fuels, oil supply on the one hand, and as a market on the other. Egypt is highly suitable for mediation with the other Arab countries.

Antall Briefs Press on Regional Government Forum

LD0911205691 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—"Nobody should expect today's visit by the government to solve the problems faced by north-eastern Hungary overnight," Prime Minister Jozsef Antall told journalists after the government's Saturday forum in Miskolc. The event was attended by the members of the government and leading experts from the region.

The problems discussed included the plight of iron metallurgy, coal mining, infrastructure, the marketing difficulties of the historic vine growing regions (Tokaj, Eger), unemployment and the lower than average living standard. A principal source of problems is that two-thirds of the local heavy industrial production used to be exported to the Soviet Union and the ex-socialist countries.

The government called for the industrial pattern to be transformed, and the output from the wine districts to be improved in quality. Although the government has no intention of declaring the region to be an economic crisis area, it will pay particular attention to its problems, encouraging above all the formation of small and medium-sized enterprises.

Defense Secretary Urges Reinforcing 'Weak' Forces

LD0911165191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] According to the Hungarian state secretary for defense, the realities of eastern Europe, and the clash of the economic and national interests of those who are

living in the region, makes necessary the reinforcement and modernization of the in any case weak Hungarian defense forces.

In a statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP Erno Raffay mentioned, for example, that the level of Hungarian land forces more or less corresponds to the strength of neighboring countries, but that in the air forces the shortfall is quite significant. The position is similar in the case of rocket defense systems, and in a possible military crisis the capital in particular could come under threat. The great bulk of next year's defense expenditures must be used for maintenance, and hardly any will be left for the purchase of new military equipment.

Erno Raffay believes therefore that with Western cooperation it could perhaps be worthwhile to revive the Hungarian defense industries, as there is a need for suitable armaments for defense.

Talking about the Yugoslav crisis, the state secretary for defense said that there are short and long-term tasks, the first of which is to avoid armed conflict with Yugoslavia. The second is to establish good relations with that southern Slavonic state, whether the future of Yugoslavia is a federation, a confederation, or the coexistence of independent republics.

Defense Doctrine Includes Rapid Reaction Brigades

LD0911175791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The state secretary for defense [Erno Raffay] has spoken about the new defense doctrine that the ministry will shortly present to parliament. One essential element of this is that the country, including Budapest, would be divided into four military regions, and immediate, rapid reaction brigades would be organized in the case of aggression, mobilization, or war.

Erno Raffay emphatically stressed the need for suitable armaments for guaranteeing our defense. [passage omitted]

Fur Appoints New Ground, Air Force Commanders

AU0811204591 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 5 Nov 91 p 5

[MTI report: "Commanders of the Hungarian Army Appointed"]

[Text] The ground and air force commanders of the Hungarian Army, as well as the heads of the headquarters of three military districts, were appointed at the Ground Force Headquarters of the Hungarian Army in Szekesfehervar on 4 November. Major General Bela Biro read Defense Minister Lajos Fur's appointments order.

Lajos Fur appointed Lieutenant General Bela Gyuricza as commander of the ground forces, and Major General Miklos Csurgay as commander of the Air Defense troops headquartered in Veszprem. Lajos Fur also appointed Colonel Laszlo Tanczos as commander of the Tata military district, Major General Ambrus Preininger as commander of the Kaposvar military district, and Major General Karoly Orban as commander of the Cegled military district. Promotions were also made at the festivity with the participation of Honorary State Secretary Tamas Hegedus. Erno Raffay, Defense Ministry political state secretary, congratulated the newly appointed commanders and Hungarian Army Commander Major General Kalman Lorincz spoke about the tasks facing our Armed Forces.

Military Courts Incorporated Into Unified System

LD1111125691 Budapest MTI in English 1102 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—As a result of amendments to the laws on courts and criminal proceedings, military courts that operate independently will be eliminated and will be incorporated into the unified court system. The military courts can operate until the end of the year.

In matters that fall under military jurisdiction, the military councils will hear the cases on the first degree, in the metropolitan and four county courts to be designated by the National Assembly. These councils will consist of military judges and people's military accessors. [as received] In case an appeal is lodged, civilian judges will hear the case on the second degree in the Supreme Court, even in military criminal cases.

Colonel Robert Hildenbrand, judge-advocate and president of the Budapest Military Court, told MTI that the process of closing down the five military courts operating throughout the country has already begun.

The colonel said judging military crimes requires special military skills. Therefore, it will continue to be a requirement that military judges to be full-time officers of the armed forces.

Oil Trade 'Sensitive' to Yugoslav Situation

AU1111121491 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Nov 91 p 3

["K.A.I.-H.Z.M."-signed report: "MAGYAR HIRLAP Information—Hungary Will Decide Later"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] According to our information, trade between Yugoslavia and Hungary amounted to almost $700 million last year. Our southern neighbor is therefore one of our six best trading partners. This year's trade figures are to be expected around $500 million. According to experts at the Hungarian Ministry for International Economic Relations, this drop would

have occurred even without the civil war because symptoms of a crisis already started appearing in the Yugoslav economy before the conflict. In the trade between the two countries, Hungary already showed a significant surplus last year ($260 million), and this year, Hungary can expect a surplus of $150 million.

Long-term cooperation plans account for 40 percent of our trade. [passage omitted]

According to unofficial sources, it would be a serious problem for Hungary if it broke off trade relations with Yugoslavia altogether. Indeed, the clashes between the individual republics could provide opportunities for more exports. Nor can we forget that the border between our two countries stretches across 650 kilometers.

Hungary's oil trade is also sensitive to the effects of the Yugoslav situation. In the case of an international embargo on our southern neighbor, the Adria pipeline would definitively be eliminated as one of Hungary's possible import sources (note that this pipeline is not being used now, either). [passage omitted]

Recession Leaves Budget Deficit Above Plan

LD0811191891 Budapest MTI in English 1636 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's central budget deficit reached 96.2 billion forints at the end of October as against the planned deficit of 78 billion forints for the whole year, Gyorgy Naszvadi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Finance, said in an interview with MTI today. Mr Naszvadi said that the deficit will probably be around 100 billion forints (1.28 billion USD) this year.

The larger than expected deficit is not due to higher than planned budget spending, but to the fact that budget incomes fell behind target as a result of the economic recession.

Naszvadi said that at the end of October, only 55.6 per cent of the planned income from profit tax had been actually paid in, and budget incomes from consumer taxes and VAT [value added tax] were also behind schedule.

Earlier this year, IMF experts said that a deficit of 90-95 billion forints could be acceptable to the fund, because the IMF is aware that the collapse of eastern European markets has hit the Hungarian economy dramatically.

Mr Naszvadi expressed the view that a 100 billion forint deficit could just about be acceptable to the IMF, because the fund appreciates the fact that it is not budget spendings which have gone out of control, but that incomes are behind schedule.

The IMF is also aware that the budget deficit was not generated by government steps, and that the government has firmly resisted pressure from various groups for higher budget allocations.

Central Bank Chairman Views Finance Prospects

AU0611105391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Nov 91 p 9

[Interview with Gyorgy Suranyi, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, by Szilvia Hamor; place and date not given: "Is Financial Policy Indeed a Successful Branch of the Economy?"]

[Excerpts] Financial policy is perhaps the only "successful branch" of the Hungarian economy today. Accordingly, Gyorgy Suranyi shows an almost unclouded optimism in his statements—at least as far as next year's economic processes are concerned. In our conversation, we attempted to examine to what extent this optimism was founded.

[Hamor] At your latest news conference, you also talked about the fact that the financial and material processes of the economy had separated from each other. How long can we sustain the situation that while the balance of payments is positive, the trade balance's deficit—which registers the real turnover of goods—was already over $1 million in September?

[Suranyi] I do not believe that this contradiction is as big as it seems at first glance. Financial and material processes can only be understood together and they are inseparable. As for the trade balance, the Ministry of International Economic Relations [NGKM] and the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] use different data bases. These items amount to approximately $600-800 million. At the same time, according to MNB figures, the trade deficit is around $100 million. Therefore, we cannot adequately explain a $300-500 million difference at the end of August between the two calculations. [passage omitted]

As for the separation of the material sphere and the financial sphere, it is not true that the MNB is one-sidedly optimistic in its assessment of the processes. A good many factors could be much better, or more precisely, much less bad. However, we consider very important the fact that, while Hungary has gone through a series of shocks in the past one and a half or two years, it not only managed to pay its bills but the current balance of payments will again become positive in 1991. Compared with the lowest level we managed to increase the foreign currency reserve three or four fold; and what is most important, we avoided uncontrolled inflation. This partly results from a much larger than expected increase of exports and working capital inflow.

[Hamor] It is often said that everything can be sold. The only question is, at what price. Is it not possible that the export offensive resulted from that? As for the inflow of working capital, the size of foreign investment per enterprise has been reduced each year. According to statistical data, while in 1988, foreign currency worth around 44 million forints was invested in each enterprise, this amount was reduced to 14 million forints in 1991.

[Suranyi] There has been a double-figure increase in convertible currency exports since 1988, and this went along improving terms of trade until 1990. Therefore, the often voiced argument of companies giving themselves away free of charge is not true. What is more, the terms of trade did not deteriorate in our traditional exports—this amounts to three-quarters of the increase—in 1991, either. However, it is true that there are quite a few enterprises that were forced to export with utmost efforts, even with a loss. This can lead to tensions already in the coming months. I do not possess the figures you mentioned on working capital inflow. If they are correct, I still do not consider them to be bad because having as many as possible links with the world economy does not do any harm to the Hungarian economy. At the same time, as far as I know, large amounts have been invested from abroad on several occasions in 1991, too, especially in the course of privatization. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] However, capital was mainly invested in trade and services. These small amounts of money can be mobilized very quickly and easily.

[Suranyi] That would not be a tragedy because we are very much behind in this area. In fact, my opinion is that Hungary must follow an economic development strategy fundamentally based on services, trade, and financial services. In this, Hungary can really become prominent.

[Hamor] However, the necessary infrastructure will not be established by a few million forint foreign capital investments. In addition to the money, a development policy detailed to the level of business plans would also be necessary.

[Suranyi] You are right in that. If the state has a role in developing the economy then that is to help establish productive and non-productive areas of infrastructure which, relying solely on the market, would take much longer and be much harder to establish. There could also be a possibility in these areas to find long term finance. The technical and economic level of the majority of current projects do not reach a stage where any kind of resources—foreign or domestic—could be drawn into them. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] According to forecast by economic researchers, the budget deficit will well exceed the now planned 60-80 million forints in 1992. The central bank, in accordance with the law on central bank, can be obliged to finance this deficit.

[Suranyi] In our view, regardless of the law, it would be unhealthy for the central bank to finance the budget in 1992. Logically, the harmony of monetary policy, and keeping control over domestic demand do not make this possible. At the same time, if the central budget goes to the financial market, that will reduce the resources for others and will make it extremely difficult to reduce the interest rates. That in turn will either put very great burden on the productive sphere or we will not be able to reduce inflation at a rate we would like to and as it would be desirable. As a matter of fact, I also think that this is the key question of the 1992 financial policy and fiscal policy and, effectively, of the whole economic policy. The greater the budget deficit is and the more this deficit is financed by the central bank, the harder it will be to considerably curb inflation in spite of the current good starting conditions. [passage omitted]

Social Democratic Party Expels Presidium Members

LD0811214291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Sandor Bacskay and Tibor Baranyai, two members of the presidium, have been expelled from the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. The party's disciplinary committee made this move after suspending Anna Petrasovits yesterday as chairman and entrusting Tibor Baranyai with representing the party. After the latest decision, the employees of the Social Democratic Party tried to forcibly block Sandor Bacskai from entering the party's headquarters.

Walesa Selects Geremek for Prime Minister Post

Walesa Spokesman Issues Statement

LD0811195591 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski has issued a statement in which he says that the president counts upon understanding by the reform-orientated forces that will enter interparty consultations in the name of responsibility for Poland. Setting an example himself, the president appeals for everyone to abandon personal animosity.

The president hopes that Bronislaw Geremek's mission will lead in the coming days to the proposing of a cabinet that will reflect democratic changes in Poland and will be ready to carry the burden of indispensable economic reforms.

Geremek Comments on Selection

LD0811204991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Interview with Prime Minister-designate Bronislaw Geremek by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Professor, are you surprised you were chosen from the trio [of nominees submitted by the Democratic Union to President Walesa]?

[Geremek] I would like to say, first and foremost, that it is the Democratic Union [UD] that has been chosen. The president decided to direct those questions to the UD, and the UD put forward three candidates. The president's decision is clear. It is with great satisfaction that I would like to say that all three have a feeling of total solidarity.

[Reporter] When will you start consultative work on the creation of a government?

[Geremek] I am already doing that. In the first place, as the decision has only just been made, I am holding consultations with my own parliamentary group, with deputies and senators from the UD. We are trying to consider things, think things over.

[Reporter] What kind of government will it be: a majority one or a government of experts?

[Geremek] I do not think there would be any inconsistency between a government of experts and a majority goverment. [words indistinct] I would like it to be a majority government that is going to be an expert government.

[Reporter] During the meeting of the floor group, we heard that some of your remarks were applauded. What were you saying?

[Geremek] I said such things as: If I succeed in creating a government, it would not only be my success, but the success of all three candidates, and also of all those present here in the room; and I also think that if it does not work, in the first place, it will be a failure of the person undertaking it, but perhaps it will not be only his failure. I will try.

[Reporter] How much time are you giving yourself to form a government?

[Geremek] I understand that the president expects a quick reply from me. I am going to endeavor to produce a reply quickly. In the president's statement, there is one sentence that I particularly value, as it is a language of truth and clarity. The president says that he himself provides an example of forgetting all personal animosities and expects that, in the name of the interests of the state forces that want to reform the country, he will support the formation of a new government. I am counting on this.

[Reporter] Have you got any candidates for the post of deputy prime minister?

[Geremek] It really is too early for that, as it is only the beginning of the normal process. The president is declaring that he will submit my candidacy to the Parliament, that is the sense of that communique. And now, one must get acquainted with the situation and establish how other political forces—I am particularly thinking about those that the president defined as the reform-orientated forces—what their attitude is both to my candidacy and my proposals.

Kaczynski: Center Alliance Opposed

LD0811205691 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Some last minute news: Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of the Center Alliance, has expressed scepticism about the possibility of Bronislaw Geremek forming a government. Such a mission, in my opinion, has no chance of success, Kaczynski said, adding, that if, however, such a government were to be created, the Center Alliance would be in opposition to it. According to Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the acceptance by the president of Bronislaw Geremek as a candidate to the post of prime minister does not mean a fiasco of the coalition of the four. [reference to unsuccessful talks this week]

Reaction to Geremek Selection Noted

LD0811232391 Warsaw PAP in English 2236 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8—Polish President Lech Walesa chose on Friday Bronislaw Geremek for prime minister from three candidates to the post proposed by the Democratic Union.

Earlier on Friday the Presidium of the Democratic Union named former Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Bronislaw Geremek, and Jacek Kuron as its candidates for premiership.

President's spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said Lech Walesa hoped that in the coming days Geremek would be able to propose the composition of a cabinet which would reflect the democratic changes in Poland and be able to bear the burden of necessary economic reforms.

"The president counts on understanding on the part of pro-reformatory forces which will start inter-party consultations in the name of responsibility for Poland. Setting his person as the example, the president appeals to all to discard personal grudges," Drzycimski stated.

Geremek said his cabinet would be a centre government of professionals but declined to give any names stating that the formation of a majority coalition was the key issue now. "Now we have to find out what approach other political forces, mainly those described as pro-reformatory by the president, will take on my candidature and my proposals," he said.

Asked whether the Balcerowicz programme would be continued, Geremek said the programme was the foundation of the great achievements in Polish economy. "A future of the economic programme will depend on political talks. We are all aware that the economic situation requires fast and definite measures to stimulate economy and halt the processes of economic pathology," he stated.

The first reactions of polish political leaders, however, are sceptical as to the success of Geremek's mission. Head of the Centre Alliance Jaroslaw Kaczynski opined that Geremek runs no chances in forming a cabinet. "Were such a government to be formed however, the Centre Alliance would move to the opposition," he said.

Also leader of the Christian National Union Wieslaw Chrzanowski said he saw no chance to form a broad, formal ruling coalition and said another person should be found to set up a cabinet of politicians representing a wide spectrum of parties.

Member of the Political Council of the Confederation for Independent Poland Krzysztof Krol said Geremek had the least chances of the three candidates for premiership.

According to Krol there were two scenarios for forming a government now: "Either the president will recommend a candidate who will try to set up a majority cabinet, or political parties will do so and, as a parliamentry majority, will propose to the president a candidate for designation," he said.

Krol also said the support of his party to Geremek depended on his programme. The confederation is however against the continuation of to-date economic policy and for taking former communist rulers to account, the moves opposed by the Democratic Union.

Geremek Meets Kaczynski

LD0911182591 Warsaw PAP in English 1629 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Bronislaw Geremek met here Saturday with the leader of the Centre Alliance Jaroslaw Kaczynski to preliminarily discuss the formation of the new government.

On Friday, Kaczynski said his party would be in the opposition to the Geremek government, if one was formed.

Members of the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party (PCHD) told PAP Saturday they wished well Professor Geremek in his mission of forming a new cabinet. The party has 4 Sejm deputies and 3 senators in the new parliament.

Meanwhile the chairman of the Polish Peasant Party Solidarnosc Jozef Slisz who is a leader of the wider Peasant Alliance (PL) was highly skeptical about the chances of success of Geremek's mission. He said on Saturday he saw scant chances of forming a cabinet under Geremek's leadership.

Geremek Discusses UD Program

AU1111163591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9-11 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister-designate Bronislaw Geremek by Kazimierz Groblewski and Tomasz Rogulski in Warsaw on 8 November: "The Center's Political Program"]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] Why do you think the president has picked you to be prime minister?

[Geremek] It is not I who was picked, but the Democratic Union [UD]. The president told the Democratic Union he was seeking a new prime minister, and the Union nominated three candidates for the post. The president's decision was clear. I am very happy that all three of them have a mutual feeling of solidarity.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What kind of government will it be? A government backed by a parliamentary majority, or a government of nonpolitically affiliated experts?

[Geremek] I do not think there is any discrepancy between the two types.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How much time will you give yourself to form the new government?

[Geremek] I understand that the president wants me to give an early reply to that question. The president's statement contains a sentence that I value very much, because it contains the truth. He says that by brushing old animosities aside, he wants to set an example to everyone else and that, on behalf of the state, he expects

the forces that are willing to reform the country to render their support to the formation of the new government. I appreciate that very much.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Are there any political forces whose presence in the new government you rule out?

[Geremek] It seems to me that the program we are formulating is a centrist one, consequently the new government will also be centrist. Everything depends on the attitude of the new political groups toward what we call basic conditions, in other words the nature of economic changes and the nature of the state.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Will the new government continue the Balcerowicz program?

[Geremek] The major changes to the economy, especially in the financial sphere, can be attributed to this program. I hope we will be able to protect these changes. The future of the plan depends on political talks. We all realize the economic situation requires firm, rapid steps that will boost the economy and protect it from distortions.

Christian Union Opposes Geremek

LD0911204891 Warsaw PAP in English 1933 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—The main board of the National Christian Union (ZCHN) said in a statement issued here Saturday that "the results of parliamentary elections point to the need of taking over responsibility for the state by the centre right forces. Only such forces are in a position to initiate a political breakthrough and take determined actions to overcome the economic crisis and the social apathy and dissatisfaction caused by the crisis."

The statement, signed by ZCHN Chairman Wieslaw Chrzanowski, goes on to say that "we do not think that Bronislaw Geremek is a person well suited to form and lead a government meeting these expectations. On the contrary, it can be expected that such a government would continue the line of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet and would be unable to reject leftist approach."

Process of Forming New Government Discussed

Geremek Views Prospects

LD0911202791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Excerpts] At 1830 a half-hour talk between Bronislaw Geremek and Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the Christian National Union [ZChN], ended.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Hardly had the President made a decision to entrust you with the mission to create a government, and we have heard declarations of opposition or reserve. Do you believe, after these 24 hours, that there really is a chance to form a government ?

[Geremek] It would be strange if it were otherwise. The president, when entrusting me with this mission, was not only aware of the difficulties that would arise but spoke about them, and at the moment, following the talks I've held today, I cannot say that I am convinced that the mission will end in success. I can say the opposite, that during the talks with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the chairman of the Center Alliance, and also with Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the ZChN, I met attitudes of important doubts about my candidacy to the post of head of the future government. What is important in these talks, however, is that we are not talking about portfolios, but matters of state interest.

Today, I held talks with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz about the problems of the Polish state and the Polish economy. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Excuse me, does the talk with Leszek Balcerowicz mean that he has a guaranteed place in your eventual government ?

[Geremek] At the moment, it is not a question of the composition of the government; it is a question of defining the government's policy, namely a program, and that is why the talks I held today with Gabriel Janowski, the chairman of the Private Farmers Solidarity, and representatives of the Peasant Accord were of important significance. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Professor, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Center Alliance and the ZChN are opposed, and the Congress is putting forward reservations. Where is the majority here? It is not visible.

[Geremek] At the moment, I am carrying out a poll that is in the nature of preliminary first talks, of making contact. Talks will really begin on Tuesday. I would not like to say that I think this mission has a certainty of success; however, I am convinced that the political groups that are going to have to give a reply to the president of the Republic concerning the appointment of the government are going to be directed by the interests of state. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Professor, it is being said, such a suggestion was made in the press, that entrusting precisely you with the mission of forming a government is a trap for both you and the Union. Aren't you afraid of that?

[Geremek] I would say that we have to be afraid of many things, we as society, and I would like in these talks—the election campaign is over—that we think not about conflicts and arguments, animosities, as the president said in his statement, but about matters of the Polish state. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Democratic Union Optimistic

LD1111215491 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—"It does not even come to my mind that we may fail," Jacek Kuron of the Democratic

Union said after Monday's over-an-hour meeting between Polish President Lech Walesa and Premier designate Bronislaw Geremek. At the meeting Geremek and Kuron presented to the president results of talks on the formation of a new government.

Speaking about his to-date meetings, Geremek stressed that they focused on the basic tasks of the future government. He had already met with leader of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) Waldemar Pawlak with whom he reached an agreement on the farming policy. However, both politicians differed as to the methods of stimulating the Polish economy.

Geremek also proposed at a meeting with leader of the Polish Party of Beer Friends Janusz Rewinski to include a group of businessmen representing this party in an economic council, to be set up by parliamentary groupings.

Negotations on the government coalition will resume at the Belvedere Presidential Palace on Tuesday with the participation of the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress and the Centre Alliance.

According to Kuron the basis of the coalition should be the Democratic Union's programme consisting in halting recession alongside curbing inflation, Poland's opening to cooperation with the West and the separation of the state from the church.

Asked whether the president accepts the Union's programme, the labour minister in the cabinet of Tadeusz Mazowiecki answered that Lech Walesa had put forward the candidature of Prof. Geremek exactly because he had decided that the latter would guarantee that a programmatic line most needed by Poland be followed.

"It is obvious that he did not propose Prof. Geremek out of personal friendship. He himself emphasised that he gives an example of going beyond personal animosities. I am convinced that the president is able to push his candidate for the premier," Kuron stated.

He declined to answer a question if he was going to be a member of the new government, explaining that it is too early to discuss nominations while what is most important now is reaching a programmatic consensus and settling the composition of the new cabinet.

Yeltsin Message to Walesa Urges 'More Contacts'

LD0811192591 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 8—Russian president's personal envoy Sergey Stankevich conveyed a message from Boris Yeltsin to Polish President Lech Walesa calling for more contacts between both states. Stankevich voiced hope that Walesa would pay a visit to Russia in the near future.

"We want your country to develop well, in keeping with the spirit of the times and democracy. We want honest and effective cooperation," President Walesa said greeting envoy of the Russian president Sergey Stankevich.

After the meeting Stankevich said that he came to Warsaw also to shed more light on reforms pursued in Russia. "With President Walesa we discussed also Russia's relations with republics of the former USSR, the succession of legal international obligations now being taken over by Russia from the Soviet Union and relations between Poland and Russia," he said.

Yeltsin's envoy raised also the question of armaments in the USSR in his talks with President Walesa: "We discussed nuclear weapons and it is important to keep these weapons under uniform inter-republican control," Stankevich said.

He added that they discussed also practical issues of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

According to Stankevich, reforms pursued in Russia will make it possible to increase Polish-Russian trade that is now in a "critical condition."

Asked whether he carried an invitation for Walesa from Yeltsin, Stankevich answered that it had already been extended much earlier, like Lech Walesa's invitation for Boris Yeltsin. "Now the point is to fix the dates of these visits. In his opinion, both presidents will meet at the signing of the Polish-Soviet treaty that has "practically been drawn up". Stankevich explained that the treaty would be supplemented by an agreement between Poland and Russia.

Deputy Defense Minister Supports NATO Ties

LD0811230191 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8—Polish Deputy Minister of National Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz came out here Friday in favour of creating new formal ties between Poland and NATO as well as this country's participation in the pact's political bodies.

This would place Poland "informally but clearly" under NATO's protective umbrella, he stressed describing the plans of forming a NATO council for cooperation with central and eastern Europe announced on Thursday as a "very good step in the right direction".

Onyszkiewicz expressed a hope for further institutionalization of Poland's cooperation with the North Atlantic alliance and suggested a possibility of opening in the future NATO's permanent mision in Warsaw as well as accrediting Poland's representative at NATO's headquarters in Brussels.

Such new formal ties would not only assure Poland that her safety lies in the interest of NATO but would convince others about it, Polish deputy defence minister said.

Onyszkiewicz also pointed out that so far Poland had the right to participate only in the North Atlantic assembly which is a parliamentary representation of the allied states but which is not an element of NATO's structure.

UN Peacekeeping Deployment in SFRY Supported

LD1011043491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2310 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Romania will in its capacity as the country chairing the United Nations Security Council support the request of the Yugoslav Presidency for the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. This was announced this evening to TANJUG's correspondent in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A ministry spokesman said that Bucharest was analysing the letter by the Yugoslav Presidency and that Romania's UN Ambassador Aurel Dragos Muntean, the chairman of the Security Council, would start at once consultations with representatives of the other 14 member-countries of the Security Council for the request to be placed on its agenda urgently. It was stessed that Romania's support for the demand by the Yugoslav Presidency was principled and was based on the position that every official request by a UN member-country should be reviewed by the bodies of the world organization.

Romania has since the start of the Yugoslav crisis backed the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, opposed any deployment of foreign troops without the consent of the parties to the conflict and the official organs, and called for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes NATO Statement

AU0911154391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0937 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/11/1991—As it made known during its dialogue with the NATO, Romania is ready to join in the NATO efforts and to take part in any formula on cooperation with the North-Atlantic Alliance which will be opened for the countries in Central and Eastern Europe, shows a statement of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, released on the occasion of the NATO meeting in Rome.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, the statement points out, noted with interest the results of the NATO summit in Rome which, owing to a lucid analysis of new realities and prospects in Europe, to its content and spirit, as well as to the practical measures adopted, goes down as a positive evolution on the European continent.

In particular, we welcome the final statement of the meeting in Rome and, above all, its provisions concerning NATO links with countries in Central and Eastern Europe, which further the work of historic significance opened in London and Copenhagen to meet the legitimate requirements of these countries, which are irreversibly committed to freedom and pluralist democracy, to the state of law, to respect for human rights and to transition to the market economy. We share the belief of the 16 that these countries should be helped to overcome the difficult moments of transition.

We note the willingness of NATO states to try to expand and intensify their links with countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Foreign Ministry of Romania expresses satisfaction at the reiteration by the NATO at summit level of the will of its member states to consider the concerns and interests in security of all the countries in Central and Eastern Europe and to treat them in an equal, undifferentiated manner.

That is why we welcome as a promising beginning the decision of the NATO states to establish more institutionalized relations, consultations and cooperation as concerns political and security- related issues, the statements reads.

The Romanian Foreign Minister accepts with pleasure the invitation to attend, together with the foreign ministers of the 16 NATO countries and of the other states in Central and Eastern Europe, of the Baltic countries and of the USSR, the Brussels meeting due on December 20.

We regard this as a new stage in the building of partnership relations within a mechanism of periodical talks which, we believe, will make a substantial contribution to the joint efforts aimed at finding viable answers to the problems confronting the represented countries and Europe.

At the same time, we hail the NATO proposals on the organization of periodical meetings on an ambassador or any other level, as well as the possibility offered to Romania and to the other East-European countries to attend the proceedings of such NATO committees as the Military Committee of the Chiefs of Staff.

We consider as highly important the areas of cooperation between NATO states and countries in Central and Eastern Europe, such as defense planning, a democratic outlook on the links between civilians and the military, the coordination of air traffic administration and the conversion of a number of industries in the military area.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania is satisfied with the decisions made by the NATO summit in Rome as it can find in them many of the ideas and proposals Romania cherished as part of Euro-Atlantic partnership relations and which it shared with the governments of the member states, and with the secretary-general of the North-Atlantic Alliance.

Stolojan Views Social Protection Measures

AU1111165691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/11/1991—After his Monday, November 11 interview with executives in the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, the Ministry of Economy and Finance and the National Institute for Economic Researches, attended by the representative of the executive in the government-Trade Union Commission, Premier Theodor Stolojan told the press, among

other things, that "the unification of the exchange rates immediately causes a number of processes in the economy, price changes included, which the government analysed, once again, in detail, Saturday, November 9." Mr. Stolojan showed that the problems of social protection, including salaries, pensions and the other kinds of income, have already been tackled in concrete terms, and added that measures were being prepared to be forwarded to the government at its Wednesday, November 13 sitting.

Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan also referred to ongoing discussions between the government and the unions, to establish social protection measures. "The government has the duty to take immediate steps in order to avoid social conflicts and tensions stemming from the impact that could be caused by price changes. As the unification of the exchange rates has been made, it has already started to produce an impact on the economy, that is going to be felt. Immediate measures of social protection are necessary. Negotiations will remain open for certain aspects that are to be established with the unions, of tremendous importance in this system of social protection," said Premier Stolojan. He added that "in time the system will be made adequate corrections, but it must start working immediately, to avoid tensions."

Asked if negotiations of salaries will start too, Mr. Stolojan said that "such negotiations have already started in a certain sector (Jiu Valley coal mining), and it is normal for them to immediately start in the rest of the economy. But the negotiations for the months to come and for 1992 will not be held at random, as they must be part of a clear outlook that can ensure economic stability." "Therefore," concluded Premier Stolojan, "social protection measures, including salary negotiations, have to start immediately, and they will subsequently undergo due corrections, resulting from the negotiations between the government and the unions."

Procedure to Unify Leu's Exchange Rates Reported

AU0811192691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/11/1991—Friday, November 8, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan the government passed the decision on the unification of exchange rates and extension of internal convertibility of the leu to all current operations.

The decision sets the changes in the currency system comprised in the report read by the prime minister in Parliament on November 6. Under this decision the official 60 lei per one U.S. dollar exchange rate is no longer applied starting November 11.

It was decided that the hard currency availabilities in bank accounts be yielded for lei to the state hard currency reserve, commensurate with the state's participation in the social capital of the respective companies.

The exchange rate is 180 lei to the dollar.

The banks will perform these operations ex officio starting Monday, November 11, 09.00 hours.

The failure the yield or transfer or the keeping of hard currency in foreign accounts without permit is considered contravention, unless circumstances are as such as to be an infraction of the law, and is punished by a 10,000 lei fine and the confiscation of the not yielded, not transferred or preserved amount.

Roman Discusses Foreign Visits, FSN Goals

AU1111151991 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 6 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Petre Roman, former Romanian prime minister and leader of the National Salvation Front, by Irinel Radulescu and Corina Cretu; place and date not given: "What We desire and What We Want To Do—The Need To Clarify Issues and Eliminate Undercurrents"]

[Text] Mr. Petre Roman, the national leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN], paid a visit to Belgium and France at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Belgium and the French Socialist Party [PSF]. The newspaper AZI presented the most important moments of that tour in general. In the meantime, many delicate situations have arisen in Romania. We have noted Mr. Petre Roman's opinions about all these situations:

[AZI] What are the concrete results of your visit to France and Belgium?

[Roman] My visit yielded results, both from the point of view of the FSN and from the point of view of political ties on a national level. We held talks with Mr. Jacques Delors on prospects for bringing Romania closer to the European Economic Community, in the context of the political situation in Romania and by examining this situation. We held very positive discussions with Mr. Manfred Woerner. He reasserted NATO's willingness to refrain from making any regional differentiations, and as long as this body is involved in ensuring the security of East European countries, Romania should be on the same level as other countries. Likewise, we held talks about the inauguration of the Euro-Atlantic Center in Bucharest, a very interesting and useful institution, with interests in the fields of international political and strategic relations. This institution takes as its starting point the idea of seeing to it that very important political personalities of our times approach us through this nongovernmental channel and start discussions and exchanges of views; later, research activity will be carried out on the basis of scholarships offered either by us or by other international bodies. We would like to attract young people to the institute who are qualified in certain areas, in fields in which Romania and the major international political institutions and bodies are most interested.

[AZI] You held a conference at Brussels University on the issue "Romania's Revival and Renewal and Its

Modern Integration in European Life." This was followed by a news conference. What can you tell us about these events?

[Roman] I believe that it is important to have a clear picture of the Brussels conference and the questions that were asked there. First of all, the text of the lecture that I delivered there and then the questions and answers, which were very diverse—of a political, economic, and even of a historical nature—should be published.

(Readers will be able to read the complete text of Mr. Petre Roman's lecture in one of the future issues of AZI.)

[AZI] What can you tell us about the meetings that you held with French political personalities and with the "heads" of the PSF?

[Roman] The major issue of the meetings with French political figures, with Mr. Pierre Mauroy and Mr. Michel Rocard, was the political strategy of such a party in a modern Europe, and its fundamental options in the context of current developments. We had a very interesting exchange of views and made efforts to clarify what exactly the National Salvation Front is in Romania today. This is an effort that we have to continue at home as well. Then, we discussed the chances of this fundamental political and ideological opportunity in the immediate future.

[AZI] A long time ago, the Front expressed an interest in participating in the Socialist International. After this visit, do you have any concrete vision in this respect?

[Roman] We have also discussed this issue. In theoretical terms, it is possible; however, for the time being, the Front is not viewed as a party that has clearly defined its political and ideological platform. The general impression is that there is still a certain confusion as far as the very clear delimitation from everything that is not democratic is concerned, in other words, from everything that in a way means a link with the past, the nostalgia for the past, or the attempts to maintain the former structures. This delimitation is still not perceived very clearly abroad. As a matter of fact, this clear delimitation first has to appear within the Front. Then, the correct perception abroad of this delimitation will follow automatically. This is our struggle, as you well know.

[AZI] Was the issue of the possible support that the FSN could receive from the French Socialist Party during the electoral campaign discussed?

[Roman] With Pierre Mauroy, the first secretary of the PSF—at least at the level of the "Jean Jaures" foundation (the foundation of the PSF's political thinking)—it was established that a delegation will be sent to hold discussions with us. Likewise, he said that he will find time—although the PSF is also going through difficult times—to come to Bucharest personally. As far as the PSF's assistance is concerned, this is an issue that can be clearly discussed when they (the French—editor's note) have a clear picture about what the FSN really is: Namely, that this party can also acquire another name and that, first and foremost, it is a democratic party with a realistic center-left oriented outlook. Under these conditions, it is very likely that our relations will also include direct support.

[AZI] Has the EC understood the necessity of giving concrete support to Romania's needs?

[Roman] During my visit there, I insisted on making the EC understand, within the general context of East Europe, the exact economic situation and the political consequences of this difficult, transitional situation in Poland, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, while Romania is being confronted with even more serious problems because it has received very little support. Some of the economic difficulties have accumulated precisely because of the lack of this vital support that other countries have enjoyed. In addition to this, from the point of view of its economic structure, Romania had the worst formula of all those other countries. The transition, which we have envisaged as an imperative and rapid process, will not be able to change this structure in the short term. The underlying causes of the difficulties that we are facing today can be found in the structural crisis, but they can also be linked to the lack of ability of certain people and administrative structures to think about adapting, and indeed to actually adapt, what we have and what can be made operational to the requirements of economy, which today is still in a process of development. I told all this to the EC, because we are talking about two kinds of assistance. The first one is direct aid in grain, potatoes, powdered milk, butter and other goods. The second type of aid refers to the support granted to Romania's balance of payments, a support that I asked for a long time ago and that should have arrived by now. I will give you an example: The cause of the lack of crude oil for the petrochemical industry, and for the substances that are obtained through processing, is the lack of hard currency resources, in other words, the deficit of the balance of foreign payments.

[AZI] A few days ago there was a meeting with all the parties involved in agriculture. The meeting was attended by prefects, Mr. Stolojan, and President Iliescu...

[Roman] The land law has unfortunately suffered certain substantial modifications in the Parliament compared to the draft proposed by the government. Initially, we studied three experiences: first, Romania's own experience as far as the previous agrarian reform is concerned and then, the experience of two other agrarian reforms that are very similar to ours: reforms in Spain and in Chile. All these showed that in a postagrarian reform period, after the distribution of land, great problems arise as far as the utilization of land and agricultural production are concerned. Before those unfortunate events, that is before the miners' arrival, we had prepared a program to carry out full agricultural operations and to reestablish agricultural structures in accordance with the newly created reality (that of distribution of land), a program that, unfortunately, was not implemented after those events. There are

three government decisions that have not been implemented. I remind you that we are talking about the transfer of all agricultural machines, free of charge, to private owners, a transfer that has two components: one to transfer to the freely established associations and one to assist the establishment of small enterprises, that can place machines at each individual peasant's disposal. No doubt, this would have solved something, namely it would have prevented the centralization that has been agreed upon now, which can have only insufficient and very short-term results. The previous decision related to the very long term. Another decision refers to the establishment of commercial societies for fuel and lubricants, which would have had direct interest in a commercial framework, and would have been founded on healthy commercial principles, not this centralization, within which a great number of employees, no matter how we look at it, are just intermediaries who might or might not understand what is being asked of them. At the beginning of September, we were also thinking of the decision regarding the establishment of agricultural chambers that would represent the interests of peasants, establish agricultural credits, and take care of the vertical integration of production, processes.... I wish to recall all these things because it seems that everybody is very agitated about the question "why is the situation in agriculture so bad?" It is indeed a very difficult situation, but those government decisions should have been immediately implemented and, consequently, confidence should have been granted to those who work in agriculture—no matter whether they are landowners, tractor drivers, or whatever—and they should have been given the confidence that they are working in a system in which their interests are directly connected to their work. However, under the current circumstances, this issue becomes quite confusing.

[AZI] Who do you think is to blame for ignoring those decisions?

[Roman] The Ministry of Agriculture. Everything was blocked there.

[AZI] While you were away, Romania's president held a semi-clandestine meeting with the FSN parliamentary group in the Senate...

[Roman] I know quite well everything that happened during the week that I was away. I believe that we started the activity of the Executive Bureau of the Front in a very concrete and encouraging way. We will also hold the meeting of the Steering Committee, and we will define the Front's position with regard to various very topical issues concerning the activity of the Parliament or to do with political life. I do not think that we have any other choice other than to increase political debate to finally make the serious clarifications of what we desire and what we want to do. Certainly, we want to eliminate all those undercurrents that are very dangerous for the credibility of the Front as a democratic party.

[AZI] How do you view the fact that the Liberal Party (Young Wing) has withdrawn from the Charter for Reform and Democracy?

[Roman] It is a pity and regrettable that this happened. However, on the other hand, one can understand their reasoning as well, namely that on the basis of the collaboration that the Front accepted with the National Liberal Party, their political image is endangered in a certain way. Within this context, we are probably talking about a gesture of preservation as far as their political future is concerned. I do not believe that we can condemn them very seriously, although I believe that it would have been much better if we had held a meeting to clarify things before this move.

[AZI] Will local elections be postponed until the beginning of 1992?

[Roman] The Front supports the idea of holding local elections before the end of 1991.

International

Lord Carrington Discusses Country's Future

LD1211055491 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Interview with Lord Carrington, chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia held in The Hague, by correspondent Jon Snow in London on 11 November; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] A short time ago I spoke to Lord Carrington, chairman of the floundering Yugoslav peace conference. I asked him whether he would support the suggestion that the European Community should now mount a humanitarian mission to relieve the Croatian cities under siege.

[Carrington] Well, that certainly is a possibility. I think that when it is suggested that the EC should use force, I think that it would be very unlikely that the 12 countries—I mean it is not my business—I do not think the 12 countries are very likely to do that. I think that, perhaps, something on the lines you suggested might be mounted. It might be rather a dangerous thing to do. That is the difficulty. Some countries might be unwilling to allow their civilians to go into an area where the shooting is going on. I would have thought, myself, that if it were done, it really ought to be done by the International Red Cross.

[Snow] You say you are going to see Mr. Milosevic. You are talking to the Serbs; I mean, are they telling you one thing and simply doing another?

[Carrington] They certainly do on the cease-fire, because last Tuesday [5 November] they both agreed to conditions for the cease-fire which they then both—I mean whether it was them or not—but anyway, the two sides immediately broke it. This does make it very difficult to go on brokering cease-fires when nobody has much intention of keeping them. I think this is really why the Community decided on Friday [8 November] that the only course left to them was to try sanctions.

[Snow] Is there not a means whereby you could, in a sense, translate your own position from EC to UN? In other words, to say: Look, as the man who seems still to be able to get these people to come around the table, I believe I have gone as far as I can. Now the UN must be brought in and talk to these same parties.

[Carrington] But there is rather a difficulty about the UN, as you know, and that is that there are quite a number of members of the UN who are very unwilling to interfere, as they see it, in the internal affairs of a country, largely because it might set a precedent for the internal affairs in their own country. And consequently, to get a consensus at the UN is very much more difficult that getting a consensus in the EC, where the same inhibitions do not apply. I noticed today that both Croatia and Serbia did apply for a peacekeeping force from the UN. So, I think it looks that if both of them are moving towards appealing to the UN. If both do, it seems to me that perhaps some of the objections about interfering in internal affairs might be overcome.

[Snow] And it also suggests that if, for example, some countries were to start recognizing Croatia, the UN could then regard, perhaps, a situation as existing which no longer represented a country in which they were interfering.

[Carrington] I think in the end, if this goes on, obviously Slovenia and Croatia—in my judgment—they will be recognized if this goes on. I think at this particular moment, one has to make a judgment as to whether or not that would be helpful to the Croatians. Because, there is no likelihood, to put it at its very lowest, that any of the EC members are going to come militarily to the help of the Croatians merely because they have recognized it as a sovereign country. It is conceivable—it does not necessarily follow—it is conceivable that it might make it worse by making the Serbian army take the opportunity of seizing such other parts of Croatia as they want to do.

[Snow] What sort of timetable are you looking at when you talk about inevitability, if things go on, of recognition of Slovenia and Croatia?

[Carrington] I would hesitate to answer that question, because it really does not depend on me. It depends upon the 12 foreign ministers of the Community. I, certainly in my judgment, I do not think you can go on for a very long time in this sort of situation, because Croatia, in the view, I think, of most members of the Community, has a perfect right if it so wishes to declare itself independent as a sovereign state. What we are trying to do is first of all, to get agreement with all the others. There is, undoubtedly—and I think that this is very often overlooked—there is a problem for the Serbs in Croatia, because 600,000 Serbs in Croatia and they have been, in the past, considerably maltreated. So, if you have a settlement there has got to be, somehow, a guarantee for the Serbian minority.

[Snow] People's attention is clearly focused, at the moment, on Dubrovnik. How tolerant should we continue to be of a situation in which shells are being lobbed into an innocent population?

[Carrington] I do not think you should be tolerant at all. But the question is, really, what you can do about it? I mean, the only way the Community could stop this would be militarily. I confess that I do not see the British public, or the French public, certainly not the German public, after they have a constitutional problem, accepting a large military force to go in and separate the parties in Yugoslavia. I think it very unlikely. Whether it is right or wrong, I cannot say. I just think it happens to be the case.

Mesic Calls on Italy To Support Buffer Zone Idea

AU1111101891 Paris AFP in English 1003 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Rome, Nov 11 (AFP)—Yugoslav Federal President Stipe Mesic has urged Italy's Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti to support his call for the creation of a buffer zone to isolate Serbia from rest of Yugoslavia, an informed source said here Monday [11 November].

On Sunday [10 November], France's President Francois Mitterrand called for the establishment of a "demilitarized zone" between Serbia and Croatia "to save the children" and help halt the four-month-old civil war.

The Yugoslav president, a Croat, held an hour-long unscheduled meeting in Rome Sunday [10 November] with Andreotti before returning to Torre de Passeri, near Pescare on the Adriatic coast where he was staying over the weekend.

Afterwards Mesic said he had urged the Italian premier to support within the European Community (EC) his demand for the creation of a buffer zone, "if necessary with a United Nations peace-keeping force, along the old borders separating the Yugoslav republics."

Mesic said he did did not support a call by the Serbian-dominated federal presidency, which Mesic has boycotted along with the representatives of Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, for the deployment of a U.N. force inside the combat zones in Croatia.

"By this request, Serbia intends only to consolidate its territorial conquests and his war of agression," Mesic said.

But he warned that if a buffer zone were not established around Serbia, its President Slobodan Milosevic "could bring the war into Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The Serbian population of Bosnia-Hercegovina have established their own autonomous zones in the republic after the parliament, with the support of Moslem and Croat deputies, adopted laws which edged it towards independence.

Mesic also renewed his call for an international oil embargo, which would hit Serbia and the federal army worst of all, as well as a complete arms embargo.

He described the packet of economic sanctions adopted by the EC Friday [8 November] as "unjustly affecting all the republics."

Belgrade TV Alleges Bulgaria Helping Croatia

AU0811192091 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Report by Nikola Kitsevski: "Belgrade TV Spreads Absurd Allegations"]

[Text] Belgrade, November 8 (BTA)—Bulgaria is again on the list of "Serbia's enemies." In its news programme "Dnevnik 3" last night Belgrade Television claimed that the Bulgarian authorities were arranging the transfer of foreign mercenaries who would serve in the Croatian Army. No evidence was offered. "POLITIKA EKSPRES," a newspaper known for its taste for sensation, was spreading similar allegations some months ago, but then silently gave up this idea.

Air Force Shoots Down Hungarian Fighter

LD0811173191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to news announced a short time ago on Belgrade television, today the Yugoslav air force shot down a Hungarian fighter plane near Kopacevo. The news has not yet been confirmed, while Belgrade television did not cite the source of this information.

Federal

Ministry Shares EC 'Concern,' Rejects Sanctions

LD0811182491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 8 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said on Friday [8 November] that it valued the interest and efforts of the European Community (E.C.) to end the tragic war, bloodshed and destruction in Yugoslavia and create conditions for a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

In a statement delivered to TANJUG, the Foreign Ministry said it shared the E.C.'s grave concern over the continuation and escalation of conflicts, despite the 11 ceasefire agreements concluded so far.

"We wish to emphasize, however, that the economic sanctions adopted today will most severely hit the Yugoslav economy and thus also the blameless civilian population, which is already exposed to the sufferings of war and economic difficulties," the statement said.

POLITIKA Assails EC Sanctions Move

LD1011174191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1402 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA today writes that the European Community, which has decided to introduce sanctions against Yugoslavia, is assuming the role of "undisputed... and biased judges" who are suspending Damocles' sword over the heads of the participants in the Hague conference on Yugoslavia.

The EC foreign ministers adopted in Rome last Friday [8 November] a package of sanctions to be applied against Yugoslavia. The sanctions include the suspension of the EC agreement with Yugoslavia on trade cooperation, the

dropping of Yugoslavia's name from the general list of preferences, a formal suspension of Yugoslavia's participation in the Phare programme, and the introduction of a limit on the quota of EC textile imports.

The EC foreign ministers indicated, however, that the Yugoslav republics which accepted the EC peace process would enjoy facilities.

In the commentary "Anachronistic and Dangerous Precedent," POLITIKA writes that the EC has departed from the original principles of the Hague conference.

The Belgrade daily recalls that the EC had initially offered good offices, equality-based dialogue and the acknowledgement of arguments, and had ruled out the imposition of solutions not acceptable to all the participants.

"Sanctions and good offices do not go together," POLITIKA quotes Republic of Serbia Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic as saying.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI views the EC decision on sanctions against Yugoslavia as proof that Europe "has for the first time, instead of acting as a shield, become a mace in the hands of German militarism."

VECERNJe NOVOSTI doubts the good intentions of the European Community.

"If the European Community were really concerned about an end to the war in Yugoslavia and about the preservation of Yugoslavia's external borders," it would not simply close its eyes to the arming of the Republic of Croatia and miss "the only objective possibility of ending the war," the daily writes.

The independent Belgrade weekly VREME feels that the EC sanctions mean the expulsion of Yugoslavs from Europe.

The Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA feels that, although primarily aimed against the sides directly engaged in the war in Yugoslavia, the EC sanctions will above all affect the Yugoslav republics which call for peace and are the poorest.

NOVA MAKEDONIJa warns that the EC sanctions could place in question the work of entire branches of the Macedonian economy, which employ hundreds of thousands of workers. The daily urges the Macedonian Government immediately to intervene.

The Slovene daily NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK writes that the sanctions are too general in nature and vague, and sets out that they contain a warning for the disobedient.

It says that, in the case of Yugoslavia, the qualification "disobedient" could apply "to everybody and nobody." The daily writes that the EC sanctions will add "new gray hairs" in the case of Slovenia and Croatia, and says that they "give time for consideration" to Serbia and the Federal Army.

"The problem of the Rome sanctions is not as much their substance as is time," the Slovene daily feels.

"Had they been adopted two months ago, we would be seriously negotiating peace today, or would be witnessing a well-organized, effective and differentiated punishment of those responsible for the Yugoslav tragedy," the daily adds.

NEZAVISNI DNEVNIK recalls that Yugoslavia, for whom the sanctions are intended, "no longer lives here."

Belgrade Radio on EC Economic Sanctions

AU0811161991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Commentary by Milutin Milenkovic]

[Text] Because of its failure at the last conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, the EC has found itself confronted with a serious dilemma: Should it admit its defeat and accept the fact that it is not able to establish the state of affairs envisaged by the instruments of the CSCE and the principles of the Community itself in a most acute and a very grave European armed clash, such as the one taking place in Yugoslavia, or should it, on the other hand, give in to the strong pressure to which it has been subjected by Germany, which demands the immediate recognition of Slovenia and Croatia and the imposition of the harshest possible economic, political, and even military sanctions against Serbia.

Of course, the solution was a solution that suited the diplomatic experienced wolves who lead this Community and who are presiding over the conference in The Hague. This is a middle-of-the-road solution. Germany's strict plan of exerting pressure on Serbia with all possible means and favoring Slovenia and Croatia as German protectorates in this part of the world was not accepted. However, the Community could not remain without an answer to the fact that its proposals, above all political proposals, as well as those relating to a cease-fire, have not yielded a positive response in Yugoslavia. The result are these measures that are not called an economic blockade and do not claim such a serious showdown with Yugoslavia and Serbia. They are only called a package of restrictive measures, the kind of sanctions that are named individually.

In addition to the restrictions in economic cooperation with Yugoslavia that have already been announced or adopted, the new elements are the scrapping of the preferential trade status of Yugoslavia. This means that our goods will now be 10 percent more expensive on the EC markets because of extra customs duties. Regarding oil, which is the only serious, threatening article if it stops coming to our market, the whole thing was thrown to the Security Council like a hot potato.

What is important is that the EC did not place any republic, any specific group, not even the Yugoslav People's Army, in the dock, nor has it directed all these measures against anyone in particular. In principle, it applied the restrictions against Yugoslavia as a whole, stressing in the preamble to that decision or conclusion, that blame should be apportioned for the fact that the blockade of barracks has not been lifted, that the cease-fire has not been observed, that the borders in Yugoslavia have been unilaterally changed—this is referring to international borders that were changed with secession—and the political proposals for the future setup of Yugoslavia have not been accepted.

Therefore, everyone is blamed. The EC has also opened opportunities for softening these sanctions for those who behave better in the future. Thus, this is a bucket with many holes, a bucket that should hold the water of political pressure against Yugoslavia. It is leaving open the possibility of Germany, Austria, and Hungary continuing to violate all these restrictions in the same way they have been violating the arms embargo toward Croatia and Slovenia so far.

All in all, it does not represent the end to the EC efforts and the beginning of the EC's economic war against Yugoslavia, particularly Serbia. It represents an important stage in the process of further negotiations. This is why it is stressed that the conference will be continued when the conditions for it are ripe. Lord Carrington is trying to create these conditions with his constant contacts with all those he says are expressing the will to continue the conference.

At the same it is stressed that the conference without some parts of Yugoslavia would not be valid. From this point of view, the German proposal for the continuation of talks without Serbia has also fallen by the wayside. Germany tried to impose itself on the EC, but it did not succeed in this at this stage. This is the most important thing for us.

Presidency Rejects EC Economic Sanctions

LD0811181791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency, chaired by Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic, was held today in Belgrade. The following attended the session: Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs; Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense; and Milan Vares, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. This was given in a public statement that adds:

The SFRY Presidency was briefed about economic sanctions adopted today in Rome by the EC Council of Ministers. The Presidency assessed that this was not the right way to resolve the Yugoslav crisis because it could unjustifiably jeopardize interests of all nations and citizens of Yugoslavia, and it hoped that this attitude toward Yugoslavia would change.

Today's session noted that the 12th cease-fire agreement, which expires today, is not being observed because the Croatian authorities have not lifted the blockade of Army barracks nor have armed conflicts ended. The SFRY Presidency has, hence, decided that Yugoslavia is to address the UN Security Council via its Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Yugoslavia is to inform the UN Security Council about the situation in the country and it is to propose to the UN Security Council to undertake concrete measures to finally end conflicts and to create conditions for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

In connection with previous demands of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency concluded that it would inform the Assembly about its activities regarding the resolution of the state and political crisis in the country at the next Assembly session, the public statement issued by the SFRY Presidency reveals.

Presidency Briefed on Political, Security Situation

LD1111204791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1950 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency tonight held a session in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Vice President Branko Kostic, and also attended by Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs; Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense; and Milan Veres, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

At the beginning of the session, the federal secretary for internal affairs and the deputy federal secretary for national defense briefed the SFRY Presidency on the current political and security situation in the country. It was emphasized that this situation is above all characterized by a continuation of the armed clashes in the republic of Croatia, the armed formations of which continue to disregard the accepted obligations emanating from the cease-fire agreements. The blockade of the Rijeka garrison was lifted today, while the blockade of all other garrisons continues.

Milan Veres, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, told the SFRY Presidency about the first international reaction to the SFRY Presidency's request to the UN Security Council for the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to our country. It was noted that on the whole this is considered to be a constructive peace initiative that has realistic prospects for success. The SFRY Presidency agreed that there should be further diplomatic action to achieve the implementation of this initiative.

In conclusion, the announcement on the session states that the presidency also made the necessary preparations

in connection with the SFRY Assembly's request to be kept informed on the present SFRY Presidency's activities to resolve the state and political crisis in the country.

Presidency Urges UN To Send Troops to Croatia

LD0911173191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 9 Nov 91

[TANJUG quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency sent a letter today to the president of the UN Security Council, Aurel Dragos Muntenau, asking for an immediate dispatch of UN peace forces to Croatia.

The letter was sent on the basis of yesterday's conclusions of the SFRY Presidency that the UN Security Council should be informed about the situaton in the country, as it suggested that the Security Council take specific measures to put an end to the bellicose conflicts, and create conditions for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

The letter, signed by Vice President of the SFRY Presidency Branko Kostic, states:

"It is a well-known fact that the Yugoslav state and political crisis has lasted for some time now. All the efforts so far, and our persistent commitment to solve the crisis in a peaceful, constitutional, and democratic way, have not yielded any result. On the contrary, it has deteriorated and even brought about intra- national armed conflicts.

The essence of the Yugoslav crisis rests with the attempt to carry out the secession of the republics of Croatia and Slovenia from Yugoslavia by adopting unilateral acts, disregarding and grossly violating the SFRY constitutional and legal system. This has in recent months been tragically manifested in the Republic of Croatia, where the Serbian nation within this republic's present administrative borders is being brutally and forcibly pressed into abandoning Yugoslavia, although it has decisively voiced its objection to this, and expressed its wish to live in a common state together with the other Yugoslav nations.

The Croatian authorities have organized illegal military formations which, in calling a general mobilization among Croatia's population, recruiting a large number of terrorists and mercenaries from abroad, and arming themselves in secret through the mediation of some neighboring countries, have committed a horrible crime in the territories of this Republic where the Serbian people live, in the course of which they have evicted them from their centuries-long hearth, destroyed their property, and massacred disabled and undefended citizens. Therefore the number of refugees from these areas, scattered across other republics and abroad, has increased to several hundreds of thousands.

The civil war in Croatia has assumed such proportions that, despite 12 cease-fire agreements blatantly violated by the Croatian authorities and their armed forces, it is threatening to spread to a wider area of Yugoslavia. The Croatian forces have started in the last few days to bomb and attack unprotected settlements in other republics.

The SFRY Presidency, as the highest body in command of the SFRY Armed Forces, has decided that the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is to be engaged in the Republic of Croatia solely to prevent wider interethnic conflicts and protect the Serbian people from terror, violence, and genocide, which are unfortunately being repeated 50 years after the defeat of fascism. The genocide of the Serbian people in Croatia during World War II is being repeated because it was not met with adequate international condemnation, its culprits were not held responsible for it, and its tragical consequences were not sanctioned fairly. Now all this is happening again, and its resurgence is threatening broader tragic consequences, and not only for Yugoslavia but for the Balkans and for Europe.

In carrying out the entrusted tasks, the YPA has been forced to lift the blockades of its members and garrisons, which the Croatian authorities have been keeping for a long time without food, water, electricity, medications, or other elementary conditions for life.

Despite this, the role of the YPA in Croatia is being presented in the wrong light to the international public, through endless propaganda and misinformation about the use of poisonous gases, bombings (dropping rockets) on Zagreb, the destructon of Dubrovnik, and the like.

Deeply indignant with and concerned about the conduct of the Croatian authorities, who are using all the methods from the arsenal of the Nazi and fascist regime—which was created as the Quisling Independent State of Croatia during World War II—the SFRY Presidency is drawing the attention of the UN Security Council to the situation in which the Serbian people have found themselves in the Republic of Croatia and, in line with Article 313 of the SFRY Constitution, it proposes that the Security Council urgently put this on its agenda.

We are approaching the Security Council with a request that in line with the UN Charter it decide to urgently send peacekeeping troops to the Republic of Croatia in the border regions between territories with majority Serbian and majority Croatian populations—because the 12th cease-fire agreement, which expired today, yielded no results due the failure of Croatian authorities and armed formations to observe it, and in the hopes of preventing a further escalation of the armed conflicts, fresh casualties, brutal violations of other elementary human rights, and extensive material destruction.

In that way UN peacekeeping forces would create a buffer zone and separate warring parties until the Yugoslav crisis is resolved in a peaceful, just, and legal manner, and with UN engagement. This would create

the necessary conditions for the SFRY Presidency, as the supreme commander of the SFRY Armed Forces, to make a decision on the disengagement of the YPA in preventing interethnic conflicts on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

According to the SFRY Presidency, a political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, which would ensure a lasting peace, presupposes under the current circumstances the engagement of UN forces as a guarantor that the Serbian people in Croatia will not again suffer the tragic fate they experienced during World War II. The SFRY Presidency is convinced that the proposed engangement of the UN peacekeeping forces would end armed conflicts. This would simultaneously create conditions for a speedier peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis in Yugoslav, which is facing great difficulties in spite of EC involvement.

While awaiting your understanding and support, please receive our deep respect."

Jovic Comments on Proposal

AU0911215091 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Interview with Presidency member Borisav Jovic by Miodrag Popov; place not given—live]

[Text] [Popov] We heard what the SFRY Presidency letter to the chairman of the UN Security Council says. We have reacted immediately and invited SFRY Presidency Member Borisav Jovic to the studio. Please comment on the aim of the SFRY Presidency proposal to send blue helmets to Croatia.

[Jovic] Well, as you know, we have so far failed to achieve any solution that would lead to peace and successful political negotiations on solving the Yugoslav political crisis, so the SFRY Presidency decided that accepting this move may lead to ending the war, which is the most important thing, and to normal conditions for seeking a solution, a political solution, to the Yugoslav crisis in peace. If we achieve these two things, an end to the war and a peace for seeking political crisis [as heard] in Yugoslavia, then this would be very important, very satisfying.

Why did we do this now? First, because all attempts to establish peace on the basis of agreements reached so far failed to yield results. Second, because of the vicious propaganda against the Yugoslav People's Army, which has no other task but to protect the Serbian people from genocide. This is in fact its task today. At first, it was dividing the warring sides. Now its task is reduced to preventing the Serbian people from physical destruction in Croatia. Something that the entire world could very clearly see and the United Nations can also see now on the basis of well-argued facts and documents is that genocide against one people is carried out on the territory of Croatia, that what is involved is the destruction of a people, destruction of property, and evacuation [raseljavanje], as well as that the Croatian side does not want to accept peaceful [Jovic corrects himself] does not want to accept peace, that is, the cease-fire under the condition of these territories on which the Serbian people live being (?kept) by the Yugoslav Army.

We have decided that it is the right moment now to address the United Nations and to say: Please send, send the UN peace-keeping forces to protect the Serbian people. Let a line of division be established between the territories populated mostly by Serbs and territories populated mostly by Croats—and this is the line of battles today—and let all conditions be created for the Yugoslav People's Army to withdraw from these territories and stop the war, thereby creating conditions for seeking a political solution to the crisis. It is possible that a political solution to the crisis will last [Jovic corrects himself] will be sought for a long time and it would not be good if we waged war and sought this solution for a long time.

[Popov] Can this demand for peace-keeping forces, that is, blue helmets, help the peace conference in The Hague to resume?

[Jovic] In my opinion and according to the SFRY Presidency's assessment, the peace conference in The Hague cannot be successful under the conditions of such a war. This was what they themselves also stated, because every conference which was supposed to discuss future political solutions was disturbed by the war and always began by discussing how to find a way out of the war. Therefore, if this is adopted and implemented, it would in fact be the most important condition for this conference to begin working more successfully. Of course, if it fails for any reason—and this is a significant prerequisite for it to succeed—one would seek other solutions, but peaceful solutions again.

[Popov] Let us go a step further. If we assume that the SFRY Presidency proposal is adopted, does that mean that sanctions against Yugoslavia would be withdrawn?

[Jovic] I think that this would be a big step toward stopping the sanctions against Yugoslavia. As far as I could understand, the main reason for introducing the sanctions was that a truce could not be established. I think that Europe will begin getting out of this by itself alone, and try to explain that it in fact did not want to punish someone for having his own political stand on a solution, on the future political solution for Yugoslavia. What is involved there are interests, and I think that it will very gladly accept that if a peaceful solution is found in this way, it will either not implement these sanctions or abolish them.

[Popov] Well, we can say that the subject of this conversation was also how to reach peace. Thank you for being our guest.

Kostic Views General Mobilization

LD1111203391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)— On the day when the 12th cease-fire expired, the Yugoslav Presidency had no other option but to ask for the involvement of the UN peacekeeping forces, seeing this as the last chance for a cease-fire and a peaceful resolution of the crisis, or to proclaim a state of war and general mobilization in the country.

Branko Kostic, the vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said this in an interview for tomorrow's issue of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, commenting on the Presidency's request for the UN Security Council to send peacekeeping forces to Croatia.

It is quite clear why we chose the first option, Kostic said. The Presidency believes that, in the process of seeking a political settlement for the status of the Serbian people currently living within the administrative borders of Croatia, UN peacekeeping forces are necessary to provide physical protection for the Serbian people from the Croatian armed formations in those territories. Kostic added that only in that case could the Yugoslav People's Army withdraw from the territories it wants to see demilitarized as part of a political settlement.

EC efforts to find a peaceful resolution started from the assumption that solutions to the country's state and political crisis must be sought within Yugoslavia, and that the EC, both as a whole and within the framework of the peace conference at The Hague, should assist us in this. As the process of negotiations in The Hague unfolded, Kostic said, it was obvious that the EC was increasingly satisfied with the starting orientation, and that attempts to impose solutions on us offered by the EC were becoming clear. Political and, recently, economic pressures confirm this.

According to Kostic, it is unrealistic to expect a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav state and political crisis if it is detrimental to any constituent nation in Yugoslavia, and especially to the Serbian nation, which has made the most sacrifices for Yugoslavia.

It is not a question of a U-turn, Kostic said, because from the very beginning we emphasized that we would consider any engagement by foreign troops, without our consent, as an act of aggression against Yugoslavia. The demand made earlier by Croatia for the engagement of "the blue helmets" referred to their deployment along the administrative borders of Croatia.

Our demand for the engagement of "the blue helmets", Kostic said, is motivated by a desire to prevent a repetition of the genocide of the Serbian people in Croatia, to stop the war, to curb the illegal army which Croatia has formed with a large number of terrorists and foreign mercenaries, and to create conditions for the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees to their homes.

In order to prevent a repetition of the genocide of the Serbian people in Croatia and their physical elimination, Kostic continued, it is more than clear that "the blue helmets" should be deployed on a line which would separate the forces in the present conflict, the line which at this moment also practically represents the ethnic border of those areas where the Serbian population is in the majority.

What we are interested in at this moment, therefore, he said, is the physical protection of the Serbian people in Croatia, and "the blue helmets" must be deployed on this line to separate the two sides in conflict. The SFRY Presidency would not object if "the blue helmets" surrounded the entire territory where the Serbian people in Croatia represent the ethnic majority, although they are not physically threatened by the areas where this territory borders on the Serbian areas in Bosnia or Serbia itself, Kostic said.

If the Croatian side does not accept the presence of "the blue helmets" and if their engagement requires a consensus of all interested parties, then nothing remains for Yugoslavia but to declare a state of war and a general mobilization and to use military force to break the illegal Croatian military formations, followed by negotiations to find a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

I believe that the attitude towards our proposal will show to the international public in the best possible manner who is for peace and who favors war and the further intensification of the conflict in Yugoslavia, Kostic said in his interview with VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

UNSC President Supports Demand

LD0911223391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2133 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Romania, as president of the United Nations Security Council, will support the demand by the Presidency of Yugoslavia to send United Nations peacekeeping forces to Croatia. A TANJUG correspondent was told this tonight in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The ministry spokesman emphasized that Bucharest was analyzing the letter of the Yugoslav Presidency, and that Romanian Ambassador to the United Nations Aurel Dragos Muntean would immediately start consultations with the other 14 members of the Security Council about urgently putting the Presidency's demand on the agenda. He emphasized that Romania's support was a matter of principle, based on the stand that every official demand by a United Nations member should be considered by the organs of the world organization.

Since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, Romania has supported the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, opposed sending foreign troops without the agreement of the sides involved in the conflict and the official organs, and advocated a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Two weeks ago Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, expressed what was up to to that point his most open support for the preservation of Yugoslavia and for a peaceful solution to the conflict, emphasizing that "dirty games are being played" with Yugoslavia.

Kostic Talks About Peace Efforts to Delegation

AU1111205591 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, today received a delegation of the Initiative Committee of the Women's Movement for Yugoslavia, and parents and journalists who visited—with the humanitarian caravan—the soldiers and officers of the Yugoslav People's Army in the barracks and prisons in Croatia.

I greatly respect and appreciate your initiative, Vice President Kostic said among other things and said that the Presidency and the Supreme Command have only two aims. The first is to provide physical protection to the Serbian people in Croatia with the Yugoslav People's Army, and the second is as follows:

[Begin Kostic recording] If these peace efforts fail to bear fruit, then it is more than clear that we will have to use the force of the Yugoslav People's Army and lift the blockades of the remaining barracks in Croatia with force. The reason why we have not done this so far is, among other things, the fact that such a use of force could seriously endanger the lives of a great number of members of the Yugoslav People's Army who are blocked in these barracks. We are trying through the efforts being made, which are yielding results with a great deal of difficulties, through the exchange of prisoners, and some results have been achieved, to exchange the captured members of the Yugoslav People's Army from the barracks that fell into the hands of the Croatian armed formations. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Slovenia, Croatia Causing Energy 'Chaos'

LD1111204491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2013 GMT 11 Nov 91

[text] Subotica, November 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Transport and Communications Minister Stevan Santo stated on Monday [11 November] that the federal government was powerless to cope with the general chaos in the energy supply industry, transport and communications, because the republics of Slovenia and Croatia simply do not recognize federal legislation.

Representatives of all six republics were to have met for talks on Monday in Subotica, Serbia's city on the Hungarian border. However, the representatives of Croatia and Slovenia failed to show up, although they made their arrival conditional on holding the meeting in this city.

Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed unilaterally independence and sovereignty, something the federal institutions do not recognize.

The meeting was neverthless held, and Santo warned that Slovenia and Croatia do not accept dissociation in a peaceful manner and that they were harming the energy supply industry, transport and communications, over the past several months measured in billions of dollars.

Croatia and Slovenia were treating the other republics as foreign countries, Santo said.

He warned that shutting the Yugoslav oil pipeline by the Republic of Croatia, four other republics were affected, and even Hungary and Czechoslovakia. He said the Republic of Serbia was additionally harmed because its oil worth around 30 million dollars has been taken.

Serbia did not retaliate by stopping electicity deliveries, but war developments in Croatia did, said Santo.

He warned that over 3,200 wagons were currently blocked on the railroad lines, that many bridges have been destroyed, tracks damaged, and that the central Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina was hit the hardest.

Major General Held on 'Undermining' Suspicion

LD1011094191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0837 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 8 (TANJUG)—The investigative judge of the military court in Belgrade today ordered an investigation of Vlada Trifunovic, a major-general in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), on suspicion of undermining the country's military and defence capacity.

The judge said that Gen. Trifunovic had been detained.

"As commander of the corps in Varazdin, he failed to organize and secure adequate protection for the manpower, faciltities and combat equipment of the JNA in the zone in the jurisdiction of the corps", the judge said.

"This has resulted in the paramilitary formations of the Republic of Croatia capturing a substantial part of the combat and other equipment of the JNA and of the manpower of the corps", he said.

Slovenia

Rupel Calls EC Sanctions 'Blow' to Federation

LD0911033191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2238 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 8 (TANJUG)—The foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Dimitrij Rupel, today said that the European Community's economic sanctions against Yugoslavia were more of a blow to the Yugoslav Federation and the Federal Government than to the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Speaking at a press conference, Rupel said that Slovenia was not particularly surprised at the sanctions, because it had known about them beforehand from its partners in the EC.

According to Rupel, the EC measures are aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the uncooperative republics.

Rupel described Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina as the cooperative republics. He said that efforts would be made by Italy and were expected from Germany to prevent a rift with these republics.

Rupel said that Slovenia believed that the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia was fighting a defensive war and that the conduct of the federation and Serbia and, most of all, of the Army, was deplorable. "It is therefore suprising that the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington, did not, despite his promise, name today in Rome those responsible" for the situation in Yugoslavia and the war in Croatia, said Rupel.

Republic To Establish Direct Ties With EC

LD1011044591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2156 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle said today a commission of this Yugoslav republic would leave for Brussels on Monday [11 November] to establish direct contacts with the European Community (EC).

At a news conference Peterle assessed "very positively" the Rome declaration on Yugoslavia, adopted at an extraordinary ministerial meeting of the EC on Friday [8 November].

The sanctions will affect Yugoslavia as a whole, Peterle said, adding that he regarded as significant the EC's announced intention to implement positive compensation measures towards the so-called republics which cooperate.

Slovenia most certainly belongs to this category, Peterle said.

President Kucan Hails Italian 'Recognition'

PM0811124691 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 5 Nov 91 p 5

[Interview with Slovenian President Milan Kucan by Leonardo Coen; place and date not given]

[Text] Nova Gorica—"Like it or not, the Italian president's visit constituted international recognition" for Slovenia. This was stated by Belgrade's authoritative daily, POLITIKA, which is close to the positions of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic. It is also the opinion of the Croats in Zagreb, who are hoping for a spectacular repetition, perhaps in Dubrovnik. This is what LA REPUBBLICA was told by Slovenian President Milan Kucan, 50, former "enlightened" communist. According to the Serbs, Cossiga's lightning visit "is a serious gaffe, a blow to the Yugoslav peace conference" whose proceedings resume in The Hague this morning. And inevitably so: "Cossiga went beyond moral good intentions, beyond a mere gesture of peace," Kucan explained to me. His argument was both simple and compelling: "After all, Cossiga is president of the Italian Republic. Though he attributed only a moral dimension to it, his action maintains its full political validity.

"President Cossiga's visit must be assessed in these terms by both Italian and international political circles. Slovenia too must see it the same way. It was an important visit, a logical move. Because, leaving aside the absence of formal recognition, Italy has nevertheless displayed a great deal of benevolence toward Ljubljana in its difficulties. In any case, the move is consistent within the context of Italian policy. A courageous gesture which represents a de facto acknowledgment of a certain situation. It was no coincidence that your president told me that he came not as an ordinary tourist and that he does not set off around Europe without informing the government. So his gesture remains an important step toward the recognition of our sovereignty."

[Coen] President Kucan, could Cossiga's visit be useful to Slovenia's cause and in future also to Croatia's much more critical cause?

[Kucan] Definitely, because it is an act of recognition of a reality, of the facts as they are, of the events that have occurred on Italy's eastern border. I told Cossiga that we did not want war. But there was a war nevertheless. And that this was a war not to salvage Yugoslavia but to preserve a particular kind of Yugoslavia, a particular regime. The attempt to salvage this regime conceals the attempt to resolve the Serbian national question. A difficult question difficult to resolve according to the criteria imposed by the Helsinki Conference. This is why I perceived Cossiga's move—an act of friendship, an act of peace—as a demonstration of his stance against the war in Croatia.

[Coen] Negotiations, economic sanctions. Every passing day of war digs a deeper rift of irremediable hatred between the two peoples, the Croats and Serbs, which makes peace more distant rather than closer. Did you broach this issue with Cossiga?

[Kucan] This war certainly is making the seeds of hatred grow. This hatred will separate the Serbian from the Croatian population for long years. In World War II, when there were similar lacerations, this took place within a different context, under occupation. Now these external causes, which could be justifiable, do not exist. It is a matter of real hatred. Therefore we want—and I told Cossiga so explicitly—the European countries to establish excellent relations with all the emergent states of former Yugoslavia. We do not want to be egotistical and to have good relations just for ourselves, but we do want them with everyone, because this is also a guarantee of peace in this part of Europe.

[Coen] It is said that the Ljubljana government has been cleverer than Zagreb's in managing the crisis of the Yugoslav federation. Who made the mistakes?

[Kucan] The situation in Croatia is very different from Slovenia's, and much more complicated, and it cannot be resolved as we have tried to do. In general, we could say that each of the republics is a separate case and that it is impossible to resolve the problem for them all according to a single formula. So if a mistake was made, it was in seeking to resolve the Croatian question with our systems. In other words, no account was taken of the fact that to resolve the Croatian question it was necessary to resolve the problem of the Serbian nation in Croatia, which is an autochthonous nation in that area.

[Coen] What about the EC's role?

[Kucan] I will repeat to you what I told President Cossiga: From our viewpoint, the conference in The Hague did not initiate the decisive step, because The Hague has not yet broached the issue of full recognition of the republics that desire it, so it has not tackled the problem of juridical succession, of the republics' dissociation. Nevertheless what is happening in The Hague is logical in a way, because the war is continuing and we must do our utmost to stop it. So we wonder whether it is possible to stop this war without first correctly defining it. This, because it is a conflict whose aim is to resolve the Serbian national question through the use of force, in an entirely untypical way for contemporary Europe—in accordance with the model whereby all members of a nation must of necessity live in a single national state. The Serbs do not want to live in another state as a minority. Instead of trying to grant their minority the utmost possible legal guarantees—which would be a sensible solution— they are trying to conquer the territories which their minorities live in.

[Coen] Did Mr. Cossiga explain to you why Italy is not in favor of sending in a European peacekeeping force?

[Kucan] Yes: He said that the Italian Armed Forces—or Hungary's, Austria's, or Germany's—would unfortunately have evoked unpleasant historical memories. So Mr. Cossiga is in favor of political and economic pressure, still with the aim of curbing military activities and in order this to adopt the European model for resolving the Yugoslav crisis and the Serbian national question. As for EEC sanctions, I have said before that it would be an experiment to see how mature the international community is.

Internal Ministry Against Travel to Serbia

AU1111171691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] The Slovene Ministry of Internal Affairs has issued a special public announcement. The announcement concerns the behavior of the Serbian authorities toward Slovene citizens.

Some Slovenes who have recently arrived from Serbia said that a general mobilization of all Yugoslav citizens is being carried out in Serbia. The Serbian authorities include in this the citizens of Slovenia, as well as Croats. No man of between the ages of 18 and 30 is allowed to leave Serbia. All the people who are stopped at the Serbian border crossings are taken back into Serbia and from there first to the barracks and then to the front.

Because of such, albeit not completely reliable, information, the Slovene Internal Ministry advises the citizens of Slovenia not to travel to Serbia. The ministry advises Slovene citizens who are in Serbia at the moment and who may be [word indistinct] by forced mobilization to ask the embassy of one of the friendly countries for help.

Another piece of news arriving from Serbia is that all the money of travelers from Slovenia is being taken away.

Croatia

Greguric 'Dissatisfied' With EC Sanctions

LD0811192191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—"We cannot say that we are very satisfied with a decision of the EC ministers made today in Rome," the head of the Croatian Government, Franjo Greguric, told journalists from Slovene and Croatian television. Greguric assessed that the Rome decision shows that Europe has not reached an agreement on how to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. Greguric said that Germany was for economic sanctions against Serbia, Greece was against sanctions, and the others were undecided.

"In essence, the Rome decision is transferring the problem to the UN Security Council to decide about an economic blockade of Yugoslavia," Greguric said. He voiced disapproval because a distinction was made between "the aggressor and the attacked, between Serbia and Croatia."

"It seems that Europe is continuing to exert a mild and casual pressure on the aggressor," the Croatian prime minister concluded.

Government 'Expected More' From Rome Summit

LD0811225991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2212 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Late this evening, the Croatian Government considered the Rome decision of the EC Council of Ministers with the assessment that "it had expected more from the conclusions of the Rome summit." It criticized the European Twelve specifically for not naming the aggressor and for not undertaking more efficient measures aimed at ending war operations on these territories. "By indiscriminately putting everything together in a Yugoslavia hotch-potch, Europe manifested impotence" to resolve the Yugoslav crisis efficiently, it was said in a discussion.

The government concluded that Croatia should continue to participate and be active at The Hague peace conference, but also to undertake other more intensive diplomatic measures in the United Nations and the world in order to gain support and recognition for the international subjectivity of Croatia. The government charged relevant ministries with undertaking measures aimed at protecting Croatian interests in the economic sphere.

Later on, the Croatian Government started a discussion about its previous decisions that the Yugoslav People's Army units and institutions are to leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia by 10 November. Proposals were voiced at the beginning of the discussion that the deadline for the army withdrawal be postponed, but the final stands about this are expected late tonight or tomorrow morning.

Tudjman Letter States Readiness To Continue Talks

LD1111173391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has sent the following letter to Lord Carrington, chairman of the EC conference on Yugoslavia:

I wish to express to you my deep thanks and to let you know that we profoundly appreciate your personal efforts and the efforts of the entire EC to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia, and your contribution to the extraordinary meeting of the EC ministers and heads of state and governments of NATO member countries in Rome.

The Republic of Croatia is ready to continue the talks at the conference in The Hague on the basis of the general principles with which we have hitherto agreed. We are prepared to insure all rights for the minorities which live in the territory of Croatia, under international inspection. Unfortunately I must inform you that, despite the cease-fire agreement, Croatia has been exposed to fresh attacks, especially on Vukovar and Dubrovnik, which because of the large-scale use of aircraft are taking on the proportions of total war. All ports have been blockaded again, and there is a threat of further escalation of the attacks by the use of missiles and chemical weapons.

The Republic of Croatia is prepared to consistently implement the cease-fire agreement of 18 October and the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Croatia. To this end orders have been issued for the unconditional de-blocking of barracks and agreement has already been reached on the withdrawal of an army corps from Rijeka, and a mechanized brigade from Jastrebarsko; the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Pula has been carried out; and negotiations on the de- blocking of and withdrawal from other barracks of the Yugoslav Army in Croatia are in progress.

In this connection, we repeat the proposal we made earlier that peace-keeping forces be sent to crisis regions, which would prevent the recurrence of aggression against the Republic of Croatia and help establish peace and the rule of law. We also consider that it would be necessary to increase the number of members in the observer mission in eastern Slavonija, especially in the Vukovar area, and in Dubrovnik, where the situation is the most serious.

We appeal to you to resume as soon as possible the work of the Hague conference and take urgent steps within the Hague conference in order to stop the aggression against the Republic of Croatia and achieve a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, the letter says in conclusion.

EC Spokesman Gives Details on Mission Activities

LD1211100491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] This morning in Zagreb the spokesman for the EC monitoring mission, Ed Koestal, gave details of planned mission activities for today. Our reporter Tihomir Vinkovic was there.

[Begin recording] [Vinkovic] Mr. Koestal, will you kindly say for Croatian Radio what are the goals of your yesterday talks with JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] in Dubrovnik?

[Koestal] To reach at least a cease-fire at a specific time today which would enable the 14-monitor personnel to move out of Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik in the night was quiet; shelling, however, recommenced at 0620.

In Rijeka yesterday the relocation of the 13th Corps to Montenegro started at 1110 when the first ship departed. Another ship is being loaded with equipment and personnel today. In Sisak-Petrinja the cease-fire is being monitored by two teams of ours, monitors who stayed in a private house last night and were being guarded by JNA personnel during the night. All our teams today have ongoing tasks. There are two teams on standby which will leave at nine o'clock from Hotel I [Intercontinental] to monitor the relocation of the armored brigade from Jastrebarsko. That will move to Tuzla in Bosnia-Hercegovina. And finally, the tripartite talks scheduled today for 1500 hours. [end recording]

Shelling Prevents EC Group From Leaving Dubrovnik

LD1211105591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 12 Nov 91

[Text] The group of European observers who, at the order of their headquarters, were to leave Dubrovnik and return to Zagreb this morning are still in Dubrovnik's Hotel Argentina because of the incessant pounding of Dubrovnik by the Yugo-army. In a telephone conversation, French observer (?Lecherier) said the observers were staying in the hotel until the bombardment stopped. (?Lecherier) said he had seen the

consequences of yesterday's bombardment of the old town and was deeply shaken by what he had seen.

According to the Dubrovnik information center, at about 0915 this morning a shell hit Hotel Argentina where, in addition to EC observers, a group of foreign journalists is also staying. There were no casualties.

Republic Notes 'Need' for Foreign Intervention

LD0911193691 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] After the news was revealed that four members of the Yugoslav Presidency today sent a letter to the UN Security Council demanding the the United Nations dispatch peacekeeping forces to Croatia, Foreign Affairs Minister Zvonomir Separovic recalled that Croatia had, on several occasions, noted the need for foreign intervention aimed at achieving peace and halting enemy actions in Croatia.

In its resolution on the war against Croatia and the need for international intervention to secure peace in Croatia, the Croatian Assembly yesterday demanded that forces to foil the aggressor be sent to Croatia. Croatia openly said that the presence of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Adriatic would be desirable and necessary regarding the blockade of Croatian ports.

Assembly Discusses Political, Security Situation

Urges Military Drive

LD0911191791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Following a three-day discussion about the political and security situation in the country, the Croatian Assembly lent its full support to the government and other state bodies in their efforts to implement its previous decisions on the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and international recognition of the Republic of Croatia. Special conclusions were adopted about this. Deputies voted on drafts to some new and ammended legal regulations. Darko Herceg and Jasenka Dudic report:

[Herceg] The Assembly was in a joint session today, too. Deputies voted about the situation in Croatia since 8 October, when all state and legal links were severed with Yugoslavia and when the so-called undeclared occupation by the Serbian army turned into an open and fierce aggression against Croatia. On behalf of the working group, Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks proposed the draft conclusions to the deputies.

[Seks] One. The Croatian Assembly supports the Croatian Government in its efforts to implement the Assembly decisions aimed at preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and at gaining international recognition for the Republic of Croatia.

Two. The activity until this point of the Croatian delegation at the The Hague peace conference is approved, and the delegation is instructed to accept solutions in line with norms of international legal order and the Croatian Constitution.

Three. It is charging the Croatian Government with the intensification of activities aimed at building the Croatian armed forces, defense preparations, and the liberation of the occupied parts of state territory.

Three [as received]. It calls on the citizens of Croatia and the entire Croatian nation, all state and other bodies to defend the homeland and to take equal part in the defense drive.

Four. It calls again on the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina not to allow on its territory preparations and undertakings for any actions of aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

Six [as received]. To the end of strengthening the efficiency of the defense drive of the Republic of Croatia, it calls on all citizens to submit their contributions to the defense of the homeland to the single system and command structure of the armed forces.

Seven. The Croatian Assembly expresses gratitude to the Croats in diaspora, to all individuals and associations throughout the world, who unselfishly help the truth about Croatia and its aspirations for freedom and democracy reach the international public. The Croatian Assembly is saying to everyone on battlefields, from Vukovar to Dubrovnik, where the battle for freedom and democracy is being fought, that as before, it will do everything to realize the objectives for which they are fighting, so that the centuries-old aspirations of the Croatian people for a sovereign and independent state are fulfilled, and so that victims and destruction are not in vain. The deputies of the Croatian Assembly sincerely share in grief with those whose sons, fathers, brothers, and others died for the freedom of Croatia.

[Herceg] When adopting these conclusions, the deputies added a call to Croats in diaspora to join the defense of the country. [passage omitted]

Approves Government's Activities

LD0911134391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia this morning lent support to the republican government's activities for the preservation of Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and for Croatia's international recognition.

In the conclusions adopted this morning after three days of debate, the Assembly lent support also to the hitherto activities of Croatia's delegation at the Hague conference.

The Croatian Assembly called on the republican government "to intensify the activities aimed at building-up Croatia's military force, carrying out defense preparations, liberating the occupied territories and ending the blockade of parts of (Croatia's) state territory." The Assembly called in that context for the acceptance of Croats living abroad who are, as volunteers, "reporting for the defense of the homeland."

The Croatian Assembly called on "the entire Croatian nation and citizens of Croatia, all state and other bodies to be fully prepared for the defense of the homeland and common and equal participation in the defense efforts."

The Assembly called on the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina, with which it has a common border, not to permit its territory to be used for "any operations as part of aggression on Croatia."

Confirms Wartime Media 'Provisions'

LD0911203591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—During its three-day session, the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia has confirmed the provisions by the president of the Republic of Croatia on "information activities during the state of war or when the independence and unity of the Republic of Croatia are under direct threat."

The document lays down that "the activities of the public media in the Republic of Croatia and the work of domestic and foreign journalists are coordinated and supervised by the Information Headquarters of the Republic of Croatia."

The headquarters is composed of the minister of information of the Republic of Croatia, of the people appointed by the government, and of mass media experts appointed by the minister of information of the Republic of Croatia.

The provision obliges radio and television stations to "immediately" broadcast all statements issued by the Information Headquarters, and the newspapers to publish them in their next edition. Croatian Radio—Studio Zagreb and Croatian Television—will broadcast on the basis of this provision and in keeping with the requirements of the Information Headquarters of the Republic of Croatia and the plan of defense.

The Information Headquarters can appoint directors of the information enterprises and organizations in state or social ownership, as well as chief and responsible editors of public media.

The provision also contains restrictions on the work of the journalists. Permission for domestic and foreign journalists to report from the areas of armed conflict can be given by the defense headquarters of those areas. One of the most important and central provisions, which refers to the work of foreign journalists, says that "reports by foreign journalists can be subject to censorship." The introduction of censorship and the way it is implemented is decided by the Information Headquarters.

In conclusion, it is said, among other things, that a journalist who publishes information on the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia without permission can be punished "for a criminal offence and jailed for up to five years."

General Staff Urges EC To Heed Army 'Threat'

LD0811203291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Following the latest communique from the Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense Command, the Croatian General Staff has released the following statement:

As the date draws near by which units of the Yugoslav Army must withdraw from the territory of the Republic of Croatia in accordance with the decisions of The Hague conference, the top brass of the Yugoslav Army are getting increasingly nervous. This is demonstrated through the frequent threats and ultimatums, which are particularly pronounced in today's statement.

This scenario of the Yugoslav Army is already well-known and transparent in its intention to pin the blame on the Croatian army in advance for its own plans and attacks on Croatian cities and even on its own facilities. The Croatian army has never, and will never, attack military facilities of this kind, the General Staff stresses.

Today's actions by the Yugoslav Army, the Air Force's frequent sorties, and the launching of long-range missiles against Croatian army positions and Croatian towns reveal all of the Army's intentions—namely to launch an attack on its own missile sites and to accuse the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia of carrying out this attack. This is why the Croatian General Staff is calling on the EC mission to take the Yugoslav Army's threat seriously and to prevent its intentions from materializing by imparting its authority, the General Staff statement concluded.

JNA Says Dubrovnik Talks Yield No Results

LD0811173291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Cavtat, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Today's talks on the normalization of the situation in Dubrovnik, held among representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], Dubrovnik authorities, and members of the EC monitoring mission, have yielded no results.

A JNA representative informed journalists that the negotiating sides stood by their starting proposals on disengagement. Talks about the exchange of prisoners also failed because the Croatian side demanded exchange on

the basis of the "all-for-all" principle, and the JNA offered to exchange 20 Croatians for three JNA soldiers detained in Dubrovnik.

A new round of talks is scheduled for this Sunday, 10 November.

Assembly President Demands YPA's Withdrawal

LD0911083591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0103 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, November 8 (TANJUG)—While negotiating a pulling back of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) units from Croatia, the Croatian authorities set as a condition that the army raise its blockade on Croatia's air space, sea lanes [words indistinct] in the region of Slavonia, Zarko Domjan, president of Croatia's parliament, told the press this evening.

Croatia is also insisting that "heavy armament in barracks be frozen and put under control of neutral observers."

Croatia's Government unilaterally proclaimed secession last summer and some time before set November 10 as the time limit for the YPA's withdrawal from Croatia. Made known in addition later on this evening was that Croatia's Government would, while in session tomorrow, possibly consider its time limit extension.

While (?transmitting) the main estimates arrived at during Croatia's parliament session behind closed doors today, Domjan pointed out that Croatia's defence-making forces have their full number of officers and men and, in addition to land forces, possess the navy and, even, the air force.

Also today, the parliament set up a particular interparty "commission of confidence" to examine the situation in Croatia's defence and "see for themselves" that Croatia's top circles had "taken everything for the republic's defence," Domjan announced.

Croatia's parliament saw today's communique issued by the Yugoslav Air Force Command on more frequent attacks by Croatian armed forces on the YPA's missile fuel arsenal in the territory of Croatia as "a threat to and an attempt at intimidating Croatia's inhabitants."

The YPA Air Force Command cautioned the Croatian authorities today that more frequent attacks by their armed formations on the missile and artillery units could bring unforseeable biochemical consequences to bear.

"Possible blasts in the said arsenal of missile fuel would be equal to the effect of the most destructive chemical weapons known to mankind today," the air force warned.

Croatia's parliament has sent round a circular letter to Europe's parliaments and the international community, requesting them to denounce "in the sharpest of terms" that "threat" and the fact that "the YPA possesses such threatening destructive and dangerous means and is ready to use them."

YPA, Government Agree on Withdrawal of Corps

LD0911150691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Croatian Minister of Navigation Davorin Rudolf and Lieutenant Colonel General Marijan Cad,commander of the Rijeka Corps, have signed on behalf of the Croatian Government and the Supreme Command Headquarters of the SFRY Armed Forces an agreement on the departure of members of the Rijeka Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] from the Republic of Croatia.

According to information given to journalists in the Assembly today, the agreement envisages "the complete withdrawal of officers, cadets, and soldiers of the Rijeka Corps who wish to leave, together with the formations' weapons and equipment and the members of their families by 10 December 1991 at the latest."

The information says that "the Government of the Republic of Croatia has guaranteed the unhindered and safe departure of members of the Rijeka Corps" and for those who do not wish to leave the Rijeka region "the government guarantees their personal safety and respect for the rights they have acquired."

The Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the SFRY Armed Forces, according to the information from the Assembly "has undertaken that in the war against Croatia the region of Rijeka will not be subjected to armed actions by the YPA from the air, sea, or land."

The signed agreement, Minister Davorin Rudolf stressed in talks with journalists in the Assembly, "guarantees the liberation of all routes connected with the Rijeka region, including, of course, maritime routes." According to Rudolf, under the agreement, the Croatian Government will immediately call for the lifting of the blockade of the port of Rijeka today.

The signatories have formed a joint four-member committee for the implementation of the agreement, which will also be joined by a representative of the EC observer mission.

Government Explains Position for Army Talks

LD1011015291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0000 GMT 10 Nov 91

[Text] At a session last night, the Croatian Government discussed the current foreign, political, interior, and military situations in the republic and its decision on the 10 November deadline for the final withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. A statement reveals that the government took into account specificially international-legal obligations under agreements between representatives of the

Republic of Croatia, the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and the Republic of Serbia. It adopted a platform for negotiations with the YPA.

The platform states that the YPA is under the obligation to immediately lift the blockade of the beseiged towns of Vukovar, Dubrovnik, and Sunj, and to end the sea and air blockade of the Republic of Croatia. In addition, the YPA must leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Units infiltrating from territories of Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro must immediately leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia. YPA units and institutions with their peacetime headquarters in the Republic of Croatia are to leave the republic's territory by 25 December 1991.

The Croatian Government demands that the YPA pledge not to use units evacuated from the Republic of Croatia against the Republic of Croatia. When the above deadline expires, YPA officers and soldiers will be treated as members of an enemy army of occupation in line with the norms of international wartime law.

The Republic of Croatia will continue to fulfill its obligations from The Hague cease-fire agreement regarding relations with the YPA. The YPA is obliged to release from YPA units and institutions officers and soldiers who are citizens of the Republic of Croatia, and to assure their safe return to the Republic of Croatia, states the platform for negotiations with the YPA adopted by the Croatian Government at last night's session.

Air Force Command Denies Allegations on Gas Use

LD0811213691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 8 (TANJUG)—The command of the Yugoslav Air Force (JRV) this evening denied claims by Croatian Radio that JRV aircraft had ejected poison gases. Meanwhile, Croatian Radio has itself refuted the report on "a mysterious web-like substance" ejected from JRV aircraft, the command said in a statement.

After reporting on Thursday that the planes were ejecting poison gases, the radio said on Friday [8 November] noon that experts had established that "the substance is quite harmless." The JRV notes that the story about mysterious poisoning "played its role in the propaganda war, intimidation and inciting of hatred" towards the Yugoslav Army, which is being described as "an army of occupation which is also poisoning from the air."

Culprit in Fall of Vukovar To Be Sought in Zagreb

LD0911200391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] For the first time in the past few days, we have again received a report from Vukovar:

[Glavasevic] Sinisa Glavasevic, reporting for Croatian Radio. The commander of the Croatian Defense in Vukovar, Jastreb, has lifted the news embargo, but Vukovar's defense is nevertheless about to collapse. The news blackout, which at midnight was to have been in effect for three days, was the last attempt of the Vukovar Command to save the town from misinformation and an ill-conceived policy—the price for which Vukovar has had to pay more than any other town in Croatia.

Mistrust in, lack of understanding for, or lack of care for this town have resulted in the fact that Vukovar no longer has streets, squares, or houses. It has, however, over 2,000 children and 15,000 residents, as well as its wounded and exhausted fighters, who are embittered by the treason, which they illustrate by pointing out the 78 days of their superhuman efforts to save the town until the promised aid has come. At this moment the ruins of Vukovar's hospital, which has long been pounded by bombs and missiles, shelters 450 wounded people. Medical teams are doing their best to contain an infection which has started spreading due to the adverse conditions. For some time now they have been hampered by lack of necessary medicines and other medical supplies. The head of the Transfusion Department, Edvin Zujovic, was to speak about this matter for Croatian Television.

The town, which has so far been a symbol of Croatia to the world, hardly exists any more. Those caught up in this unfolding tragedy know who its author is, and so does the world. The aim of the enemy offensive is Vukovar. It has been shattering the town for some 10 days. This morning saw heavy artillery shelling from a distance, something which started cutting into the Croatian defense in Luzac and First of May Street. These locations came under a combined tank and infantry assault, which was followed at about 1200 by the dropping of the so-called nets from aircraft on the residential estate of Borovo. It is hard to list all the crimes committed by the occupation forces today alone.

But everything becomes clear in mentioning an attack on the most densely populated part of the town [word indistinct] where there are about 3,000 people, who are being subjected to all sorts of pressure, and the hospital and the numerous shelters which are devoid of anything that might provoke combat action. If Vukovar falls, and if its population perishes in a massacre—there is firm evidence that this is what the enemy forces have been preparing—then the culprit should be sought first in Zagreb, and only then elsewhere, because numerous messages have been sent off from here. No reply has ever been received.

Serb Regions Request UN Trusteeship for Croatia

LD0911083191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0615 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 9 (TANJUG)—The great people's assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem has asked

from U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to have Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia become a U.N. trust territory.

This denied last night a TANJUG report that asked has been that U.N. trusteeship status be granted to the Serb-populated regions in the Republic of Croatia. [sentence as received]

The demand that U.N. trusteeship be established over Croatia has it that involved is a part of Yugoslavia's territory "singled out by force from the State of Yugoslavia," that a fascist order "was set up there" and that those who usurped "that territory can no longer exercise their power there and rule it on their own."

The U.N. is asked to get efficiently engaged in protecting the ethnic Serbian population "from genocide," to which they are being exposed again for a 2nd time within the past half a century.

Within Croatia's administrative borders onesidedly proclaimed have been two Serb-populated autonomous regions: the SAO Krajina and the SAO Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem.

The great people's assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem asked from the world organization to invite its legitimate representatives to the first regular session coming and secure mechanisms for recognizing territorial integrity and subjectivity to Serb-populated regions within Yugoslavia.

Separovic Addresses Foreign Consuls to Zagreb

LD1111222691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] Zvonimir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Croatian Government, today received foreign consuls accredited to Zagreb. Among other things, Separovic told the consuls that Croatia supports the efforts of the European Community to solve the conflict in a peaceful manner, as well as the Hague conference, which it wishes to continue. However, he had to point out, he said, that Croatia is the victim of aggression and that it is suffering huge material damage.

Minister Separovic declared that Croatia is interested in the arrival of international peace-keeping forces at the constitutional borders of the Republic of Croatia, but added that they must not under any circumstances sanction a situation in which the aggressor occupies certain territories of the Republic of Croatia.

Minister Separovic asked the Consuls to convey to their governments that Croatia urgently needs humanitarian aid, that Vukovar and Dubrovnik are facing destruction and that he is sorry to hear that the members of the Observers' Mission will withdraw from Dubrovnik.

Separovic informed the diplomatic corps about the Croatian government decision to extend the deadline for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army to 25 November this year, in order to alleviate the tension in these places and to enable the army to withdraw from Croatia in a peaceful manner, as from Slovenia, and in keeping with the conditions laid down by the Government of the Republic of Croatia, the EC observers' mission and the Army.

Ex-Defense Minister Named Chief Inspector

LD0811212391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—General Martin Spegelj was today appointed chief inspector of the Croatian Army, Assembly President Zarko Domljan told the press tonight. According to Domljan, this move to appoint the retired Army general and ex-minister of defense of Croatia as chief inspector was applauded by assembly deputies.

Domljan also informed the press that "the creation of a school that would train members of the Croatian armed forces is being seriously considered."

Serbia

Government To Cooperate With Hague Conference

LD0811212991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 8 (TANJUG)—Serbia has the goodwill to cooperate in The Hague conference and believes that the document on Yugoslavia contains many good elements, TANJUG learns today from a source in the Serbian Government.

Serbia has never rejected The Hague document, but has only insisted that it be amended, the official explains.

Serbia's proposals have been intended to contribute to the basic aim of the conference—mediation in reaching a just and lasting solution to the Yugoslav crisis, he says.

The European Community and The Hague conference had originally said that their chief goal was mediation and not imposition of solutions to the Yugoslav drama, he adds.

He recalls that Serbia has put forth the largest number of proposals for amending The Hague document and it is the only side at the conference which has approached the arbitration commission on three occasions.

Official Serbian circles have refrained from commenting on today's decisions by the E.C. foreign ministers in Rome to impose sanctions on those sides in Yugoslavia which are not cooperating with The Hague conference.

The Serbian Government official stresses, however, that Serbia had not offered any "eleventh-hour" proposals, as

a Western news agency has reported and alleged as "a step toward accepting The Hague document".

Jovanovic Interviewed on EC Sanctions

AU0811221891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbia, by unidentified correspondent; place not given—live]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] How do you assess what happened in Rome today?

[Jovanovic] This declaration—that is to say, the package of sanctions—is not a surprise considering that this step had been quite loudly announced earlier, but obviously the move by the EC regarding Yugoslavia, including our republic, can only be met with regret. I say regret because the sanctions cannot by any means be compatible with the negotiating process. The negotiating process that assumes that all sides are equal simply excludes such instruments as threats, pressures, sanctions, blockades, and so on. In this respect, the EC has moved away from the spirit of the starting points, rules, and principles of The Hague conference that rest on the offer of good services, the nonimposition of solutions, and of course, the free acceptance by all participants of any solution that is proposed.

We must nevertheless say that in this declaration the community has criticized itself because it has corrected itself in some elements, which could even have a positive effect on the further work of the conference.

[Correspondent] You in any case mean the mention of Yugoslavia after so much time and probably also the mention of oil.

[Jovanovic] The mention of Yugoslavia on three occasions, if I remember correctly, as a state is definitely a formal and actual denial of the stand in the agreement that was proposed at The Hague conference that simply ignores Yugoslavia and denies its existence and tries to construct a structure of new relations in the Yugoslav area without Yugoslavia and even against it.

This time, the Community not only named Yugoslavia but also imposed sanctions against it. It also expects Yugoslavia to have that (?constructive) contribution to the conference. It is known that one agreement does not suspend a country that does not exist or that one partner is not subjected to pressure and the imposition of sanctions, if it is not expected to be able to make its own decisions and to possibly behave in an appropriate way toward those who impose the sanctions.

On the other hand, it is a positive thing that the community has this time clearly taken a stand regarding unilateral steps, unilateral actions, I mean in this respect unilateral secession, because the recognition of the secessionist republics was made conditional on a whole string of demands that they must first meet.

Finally, the Community has also recognized that it does not have the power to impose an oil embargo. This is what the general secretary found it necessary to say publicly. The Community's referral to the Security Council, that is to say its appeal to the Security Council to examine measures for the possible imposition of an oil embargo is also an (?implicit) admission of this.

Therefore, this text, no matter how much it is a text that any country that cares about itself and that does not consider itself guilty can only accept with regret, contains several of these self-critical moves by the Community regarding its own previous stand at the conference [in The Hague] and in that document. We hope, and we would like to believe, that this self-critical stand will be sufficiently reflected in the final stand of the Community, that is to say the conference, regarding the amendments of the Republic of Serbia, above all those that relate to basic principles.

[Correspondent] What do all the Rome decisions mean for the economy of Serbia?

[Jovanovic] These decisions are certainly not pleasant for any country and not for ours, either. At first sight they look impressive because they are itemized as four such decisions, but when matters are carefully examined and when the dry leaves are swept away and the firm ground appears, it can be seen that they are not as terrible as they seem at first sight. For example, the agreement on economic cooperation and trade between the Community and Yugoslavia was, regarding the economic part, suspended on 5 July this year. It did not have any effect whatsoever. Now, indeed (?trade has expanded) and in this respect, Yugoslavia, including our republic, expects that it will be hit by some consequences.

On the other hand, the formal suspension of the invitation to Yugoslavia to attend the meeting of PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], this agreement on the economic recovery of Central and Eastern Europe, is obviously a gesture of bad political will toward Yugoslavia, but this is only the beginning of a program that is due to be formulated for offering aid to the countries of central and Eastern Europe. However, at the moment, this is no use to anyone, not even to our country.

Finally, the last sanction that refers to the reduction of textile export quotas is obviously a measure that can most specifically hit our republic. We are of course a great exporter of textiles to the whole world and particularly to the countries of the Community. Even though these measures are timed in such a way as to hit Yugoslavia and our republic in fields in which they are particularly sensitive, they are not the kind that cannot be overcome and they do not mean that our economy will not be able to stay on its feet.

[Correspondent] Finally, what about the negotiations, what about The Hague?

[Jovanovic] The Hague conference began as an offer of good services and as such it was accepted by the Yugoslav participants. As a republic we approached this conference from the beginning in good faith and with good intentions. We put forward a principled platform and we were the republic that put forward by far the most amendments, of which a large number were accepted and included in the (?proposed) final document, and we do not have any reason to be inhibited when it comes to the resumption of the work of this conference. On the contrary, on our side we are ready to continue the dialogue at the conference, which, of course, was an equal dialogue both regarding the status of the participants and the equality of all options, as well as regarding the real negotiating attitude to all those amendments and all those efforts, no matter what side they come from, to modify the proposed document, to improve it, and to make it more balanced and obviously more acceptable for everyone.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Republic Demands To Be 'Exempt' From Sanctions

LD0911181791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—EC sanctions will considerably hurt the Bosnia-Hercegovinan economy—Bosnia-Hercegovina has thus today concluded that it is necessary to immeditately send a demand to the European conference on Yugoslavia and the EC Council of Ministers to exempt this republic from the envisaged sanctions.

The government stresses that Bosnia-Hercegovina has neither taken part in the conflicts nor contributed to them, and that it has, however, made a constructive contribution to the The Hague peace conference.

Bearing in mind the fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina is encircled by the republics which are in conflict, and that it is already suffering as a result of that, sanctions could bring about exceptionally difficult consequences for this republic, a statement from a government session says.

The government has decided to immediately propose that a meeting between the presidents of the republican governments be convened, which would discuss the most important problems facing the republics.

The first such meeting would, most likely, be held next week in Sarajevo.

The government has decided to energetically demand once more from all warring parties in Yugoslavia that they immediately end hostilities, so that an agreement on new relations between the republics—that is, within a Yugoslav community—can be reached in peace.

Serbs Overwhelmingly Support United Country

AU1111152691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Report by Ljubomir Nikolic from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] The preliminary results of the plebiscite of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina were announced at the news conference in the Holiday Inn in Sarajevo. About 1,450,000 Serbs and more than 50,000 members of other peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, countries of West Europe, and the United States voted by 1200 GMT today. Ninety-nine percent of the voters voted in favor of staying in Yugoslavia. Out of this number, 931,000 Serbs voted in Bosnia-Hercegovina and 272,000 in Serbia. The results are still not known for 20 communes. The final results are expected to be known tonight or tomorrow at the latest. About 133,000 adult Serbs and almost 11,000 members of other peoples voted in Sarajevo. The Serbian Democratic Party is more than satisfied with the results of the plebiscite. [passage omitted]

Zagreb Radio Views Referendum Anomalies

LD1111185791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Report by Slavko Rako from Sarajevo]

[Text] Who is against Yugoslavia is against us and now, after the plebiscite, we have enough arguments to prevent the separation of entire Bosnia-Hercegovina from Yugoslavia, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] said at a press conference today in reaction to the referendum of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It is clear after the plebiscite that the statistical figures of the last census were incorrect and that the number of Serbs is higher. In some municipalities the number of Serbs who voted was about 1,000 higher than had been stated in the census, Vojislav Maksimovic, chairman of the SDS deputy club, stated at the same press conference.

The plebiscite of the Serbian people is a democratic reply to undemocratic pressures and it is now clear that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not have to be either sovereign or independent as far as the people are concerned, Nikola Koljevic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency from the SDS ranks said. The plebiscite has provided Europe with an indication of where a solution to the problem of Yugoslavia should be sought. But we in Yugoslavia do not need their recipes, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian people, said and went on to add that as early as this week this assembly will verify the results of the plebiscite and pass decisions to reflect its outcome.

In the light of the above it is quite clear what motives were behind the plebiscite and what further steps the SDS is going to take. This was a plebiscite in which people were allowed to cast votes merely by producing an identification card, without adequate lists or any control.

According to the organizers the voting also took place in other republics and countries. Results have already been received from Switzerland, America, Sweden, and Germany and are expected from the Soviet Union from Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs who work there.

After the counting of votes it became clear that the turnout at some polling stations had been larger than the number of names on election lists. According to Radovan Karadzic, almost 100 percent of votes were in favor, while the number of those who voted against was under 1 percent. In the light of their statement that they expected over 1.5 million voters to cast their vote, it is easy to conclude that one of the aims of the plebiscite was that over 51 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovia adults are for Yugoslavia. But this will be very difficult to prove.

Bosnian Krajina in Favor of United State

AU1111162291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Report by Slobodan Kovacevic]

[Excerpt] The Bosnian Krajina wants to remain in Yugoslavia. This is the main conclusion of the two-day plebiscite held in the Krajina, where, in addition to Serbs, Muslims and Croats also voted to stay in Yugoslavia. The results are not complete yet, but one can say with great certainty that, as the Regional Commission claims, over 90 percent of the population voted in favor of a united state of Yugoslavia. More than 85 percent of the registered voters voted in Drvar. The same applies to Kljuc and Bosanska Dubica. In Glamoc, 93 percent of voters took part in the plebiscite. [passage omitted]

Presidency Member Arrested for Insulting Military

LD0811222391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Our correspondent from Titograd reports that Montenegrin TV has reported news received from the Banja Luka Corps Command that Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, was arrested for taking photographs of military facilities and for insulting the Yugoslav Army.

International Red Cross Supervising POW Exchange

LD0911103591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] A prisoner exchange is under way on the bridge between Bosanski and Slavonski Samac under the supervision of the International Red Cross. At this moment the Red Cross representatives are speaking with the 333 members of Croatian forces who have been held in a prison camp in Manjaca. They will be exchanged for 453 Yugoslav Army troops who have been imprisoned in Bjelovar.

In accordance with international law, the Red Cross officials will speak with each prisoner individually in order to determine whether or not they wish to be exchanged. Despite previously agreeing to do so, Yugoslav Army officials are not permitting reporters or photographers to approach the buses carrying Croatian prisoners.

Mostar Citizens Asked To Respond to Mobilization

AU1111210191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Report by Omer Vatric]

[Excerpt] Many citizens of Mostar today received telephone calls asking them to respond to the call for mobilization and to immediately report to the northern camp. At the same time, the communal authorities fail to accept this mobilization. Here is a report from Mostar by our correspondent Omer Vatric:

[Begin Vatric recording] Branko Bandic, head of the National Defense Secretariat, says that what is involved is an order of the respective military command that demands mobilization for a military unit with about 2,500 reservists from the Mostar Commune alone. Therefore, what is involved is a large military unit, but the citizens who have been contacted face a great dilemma. If they ask the Communal National Defense Secretariat, they will be told that they should not respond to the call for mobilization, because it is contrary to the decisions of the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. On the other hand, the Army is calling people because it increasingly lacks soldiers to fill its ranks. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Communal Authorities Deem Army Call-Up 'Invalid'

AU1111203291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 91

[Text] The Zenica military post today sent a public appeal to all military draftees of between the ages of 20 and 45 from the territory of the communes of Zenica, Zepce, Zavidovici, Kakanj, Visoko, Vares, Breza, Kiseljak, Vojnica, and Kresevo who have not been given a combat assignment, to report to the command of the Zenica Garrison of the Yugoslav People's Army by 1700 GMT tomorrow, 12 November, at the latest. It is said at the military post that failure to respond to this call will result in one's being taken before the military authorities.

In the meantime, we received an announcement of the Zenica Communal National Defense Council that says that the announcement by the Zenica military post broadcast over Zenica radio on 11 November calling up military draftees from the Zenica region and other

communes is invalid and is not binding. The announcement states that the Zenica military post is not a valid organ because it has not been formed according to the laws and decisions of the presidency and government of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Macedonia

Government Urges EC Aid To Stabilize Situation

LD0911194991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—We regret that the latest development of events at the The Hague conference has brought about economic sanctions by the European Community, it is said in today's statement by the government of the Republic of Macedonia. However, we are conscious that it was no longer possible to overlook the fact that in spite of 11 signed cease-fires the war continues with increased intensity. We therefore understand the decision by the European Community, as a pressure signal for the rejection of arms and the continuation of political dialogue.

At the same time the government of Macedonia considers that peace and democratic development in the republic should be preserved. We therefore call on the European Community—the statement says—to help us in our efforts to prevent the sanctions from destabilizing the situation in the Republic of Macedonia.

The government of Macedonia once again emphasizes its support for the efforts of Lord Carrington to renew the The Hague dialogue after the cessation of hostilities, and expresses its readiness for further cooperation in the search for a peaceful resolution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Republic To Demand Recognition of Independence

LD0911221791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 9 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, November 9 (TANJUG)—President of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov announced on Saturday [9 November] that this Yugoslav republic will demand the recognition of its independence following the adoption of a new constitution due on Sunday [10 Nov].

"We believe that the recognition of the Republic of Macedonia should follow that of any republic in Yugoslavia, such as Slovenia and Croatia," said Gligorov in an interview on French television.

A session of the republican parliament in the Macedonian capital Skopje is discussing the proposed constitution.

Gligorov explained that, at a referendum on September 8, the Macedonian people voted "in favour of an independent and sovereign state of Macedonia with the right join a loose association of sovereign states of Yugoslavia, if agreement on this is reached."